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ART. I.—BOMBAY STATE PAPERS. *

OR the lover of history there cannot be a more fascinating task than the study of original authorities. To draw from the fountain-head our knowledge of thrilling incidents, brilliant campaigns, diplomatic triumphs, or the not less interesting, if less striking, processes by which civilisation has been advanced, anarchy put down, and the happiness of the people at large promoted, is a highly enviable privilege. This is what Mr. Forrest's delightful volumes have enabled us to do with regard to the history of Western India. We learn from them the plain unvarnished tale of what the founders of the British Indian Empire accomplished in their own actual words. It has been for Mr. Forrest to bear the burden and heat of the day in the compilation of these papers; while, thanks to him, we can turn over the pages of the story at our ease. Mr. Forrest has had to search through masses of dusty manuscript that had been long since put aside and forgotten, to decipher the almost illegible characters used by a generation that is dead and gone, to separate the wheat from the chaff, and finally to arrange and collate what it appeared advisable to retain. "Owing to the decayed state of the paper," he tells us, "and to the ink having spread, considerable difficulty has been experienced in deciphering the early documents. Some leaves unfortunately crumbled to pieces the moment they were touched." The fruits of his labour have been presented to the public in three handsome

^{*} Selections from the Letters, Despatches, and other State Papers preserved in the Bombay Secretariat, Marátha series and Home series, edited by George W. Forrest, B.A., Deccan College, Fellow of the Bombay University.

volumes printed at the Government Central Press, Bombay. The first of these comprises a series of papers, giving the relations of the Company with the Marátha Power; the last two form a parallel series relating to the home affairs and internal administration of the Bombay Presidency. In the Marátha series the spelling now in use has been employed throughout. But in most of the home series, Mr. Forrest has given a literal transliteration of the manuscript; and the uninitiated may experience some little difficulty in making out passages like the following.

"Worshipfull, & ca. Good freinds,

Wee are now with yo r of y e 30th July in answere to ours of y e 4th, 6th and 11th of said month, and doe approve in y main of y reasons you give us for y number and increase of your garrison souldiers, by yo taking y seamen into yo Rolles, w th otherwise would have layer all y winter idle, & at a grt charge, and yo initiating y into military desciplins ashore, & introducing a familiarity between y and y souldiers, w ch is prudently done."

In the first volume of the home series there is given a facsimile of an average specimen of the early correspondence, with which we must admit our entire inability to grapple. It would have been more convenient to the general reader if the same principle had been adopted with regard to the transliteration, and the book printed in the modern method,

a specimen only of the original spelling being given.

On the main facts of Bombay history, it cannot be said that the papers throw much new light; but the details that they give are of great interest. Instead, therefore, of using them to draw up a general sketch of the times, we think it will be more acceptable to our readers if we give as many extracts from them as our space permits of, with such

explanatory notes as may be necessary.

The first document in the series is a letter from the President at Surat to the factors at Agra. It is dated September 30th, 1630; and it is the oldest document in the Record Office that has escaped the ravages of fire, neglect and time. It relates chiefly to commercial matters, and has scanty reference to contemporary history. Instead of making Surat the last port of the fleets' "final dispeed for England," it says, "we are determined to alter that course by appointing Persia for their last port, and to that end shall with all convenience possible endeavour the present lading of these our Indian investments." The next letter is of a very different type. It plunges us at once into the Indian politics of the time. The Empire that Bábar had founded was then at the height of

its splendour. Akbar, the noblest of the Moghal Emperors, had passed away a quarter of a century before. His son Jehángir, a gloomy and sullen tyrant, died in 1627; and Shah Jehán, who surpassed in magnificence all the former Emperors of India, the architect of the graceful Tájmahal, reigned in his stead. His dominions in the west of India included Sind, Guzerat, Khándesh, Berár and Ahmednagar. The Mussalman kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda, which were older than the Moghal Empire, still maintained their independence of it. Along the coast, especially at Goa, Chaul, Bassein, Surat and Diu, the Portuguese had been long established. It was nearly a century and a half since, in 1498, Vasco da Gama cast anchor in the harbour of Kálikat: and their fortunes had already passed their zenith. The English had only been in the country for the short period of 23 years. The first of our ships that reached the shores of India was the "Hector," under Captain Hawkins, which arrived at Surat in 1607. Hawkins ventured upon the dangerous journey to the Court of Jehángir at Agra; but he could not succeed in obtaining permission to trade. No argument, however, has such an effect upon the Oriental mind as physical force; and when in 1612 some ships under Sir Henry Middleton defeated a much superior naval force of the Portuguese, Jehángir vouchsafed to allow the English to trade in his dominions. They were also authorised to build factories at Surat, Cambay, Gogo, and Ahmedahad, the first of which was their presidency, or chief factory. To Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador from James I, Jehangir granted still further concessions; and from the time that these papers commence, the Company was fairly well established. The time was emphatically one of transition. Muhammadan rule was composed of elements which not even common interests and a common religion could succeed in uniting. There was no real cohesion in the empire; the Emperor's sons constantly waged rebellion against him; contentions ran riot in his armies. The Nizam Sháhi dynasty of Ahmednagar had indeed been, within the last few years, added to the dominions of Shah Jehan; but its two sister kingdoms, Bijapur and Golkonda, were still engaged in incessant internecine wars, which were only interrupted for occasional union against a common foe. Each of these enrolled under their banners Marátha chieftains and their followers. little thinking of the results that this policy would assuredly produce. For the forces were already in operation which later on brought forward Shiwaji the son of Shahji as a champion of the Hindu faith, and the founder of a Hindu empire, under whose ægis the Maráthas should smite down and drive out of Western

India its Mussulman rulers, emperor and kings alike, to yield at last only to the might of England. But far from anticipating their ultimate triumph, the English merchants on the coast sought only to extend their trade and protect their factories. The idea of ever conquering the rich and fertile countries upon whose borders they were only allowed to dwell on sufferance, was beyond their wildest aspirations. Per angusta ad angusta might have been their motto; and how little and trivial their dealings were and how blindly, and with what uncertain footsteps, they struggled onward to their ultimate goal, there is

ample evidence in these papers.

But of one thing they had quite made up their minds, and that is, that they would stand no nonsense from traders of other European nations. They were therefore constantly engaged in struggles with the French, the Dutch and the Portuguese. An admirable description of a fight with the latter of these as given in the third letter of the Home Series. It took place on the 15th of October 1630. "The English," the account runs, "having divided themselves into three squadrons, appointed only one to appear in sight of the enemy, towards the water side, and the other two to wheel about behind the sand hills, that so inviting their foe to encounter with the lesser number, they might (when drawn within the distance of musket-shot) rejoin their full strength again, as they did; when as the Portugals, who less cautiously had opened and spread themselves in good order the full length of all their brigades, as they purposely had contrived themselves close alongst the shore, as well for the safety of their own people as to terrify ours not to dare any further for dread of their great ordnance, which with their harquibuses usually mounted on their frigates' sides, was the refuge it seems they mainly depended on. But such was the undauntedness of our English, being stirred up to a great measure of fury by the hourly vexations and bravings of the enemy, as being now come within shot, with a general resolution rejoicing at the occasion, after a shot or two received first from the Portugals, pushed on in the very face and mouth of all their frigates, and perceiving that but three of them could use the advantage of their prowess against them, and that some of the rest were brought aground, and had only their harquibuses to gall them, advanced forwards still plying their small arms with very good discipline, and the Portugals no less valiantly replying with their double forces, as well from their frigates at sea, as the squadron on shore, but not able it seems to endure the obstinate rage of our people, they began to give ground, and our most fiercely following, entered pell mell amongst them, even into the water, within less than pistol shot of their frigates; in which interim the Vice-King's

son was conveyed aboard, but so narrowly escaped, that the party who provided for his safety was himself taken prisoner in the action: many of the English not fearing to run up to the chin in water, even to the very sides of their frigates, pursuing the victory with great slaughter both at shore and at sea, and at length returned with 27 Portugals prisoners taken alive, without the loss of any more than one ancient man (a corporal) not wounded but suffocated only with heat, and the wounding of seven more of our people. This they happily performed in sight of Mirza Báker, and divers of these country people to their great admiration and our nations greater honour. To that good God who led them by the hand be the glory."

In a long letter to the Company in London, dated Surat, 16th, 1663, the factors deal with the most miscellaneous subjects. They impress upon their right worshipful and honoured friends the necessity of maintaining a considerable force "that the Dutch may not baffle you, which their insolence and pride will undoubtedly attempt to do, to engross the whole trade, for if so strong they will transport all merchants' goods." "The Dutch" they go on to say, "make no account of the articles of peace so lately concluded between our two nations, wherein it is concluded and agreed that we should have commerce and trade in the same freedom one with another that each respective nation hath or is granted and allowed to the nations that are inhabitants with unity and friendship, whereas on the contrary they prosecute us (where they have no real pretence) in other kings' jurisdictions, and by threats and menaces of the people, if they shall at any time either furnish or suffer us to have the least trading or commerce with them."

The factors next ask their honourable masters for rarities to be used as presents to the native officials. They want the finest scarlets and greens, a piece of red and a piece of green satin, some knives of all sorts, those of amber hafts without pictures, silver enameled, &c., and what other rarities they may light upon, such things being often better accepted than those of greater value. They find themselves in great want of writing materials and medicines. "We were in good hopes," they write, "you would have yearly sent us a supply of paper with quills and a few black lead pens, of all which we are now entirely destitute, having expended the whole quantity in employing your servants, whereof we brought out a considerable number, besides those we found in the country; we confess we might have been better husbands had it not been merely to have kept them from idleness. We have made our surgery chest to last us two years with the help of such medicines as are here procurable; what is immediately wanting to us the enclosed list will acquaint you with, please to enorder their reaching by the next."

There is no lack of pious sentiment and commendations to the Almighty in these letters, nor do the factors neglect to hold religious services. "We have separated a place apart for God's worship," this same long letter tells us, "decently adorned it, wherein stands your library, and amongst them those several volumes of the holy Bible in the languages which is much esteemed by those that are learned amongst these people; that if any eminent person come to your houses, his greatest desire is to see the chapel: wherefore we entreat you, for further ornament, to send us out a large Bible in a frame, gilded and handsomely adorned with Moses and Aaron holding the two tables containing the ten commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed, written in letters of gold, and in the midst, at the top, in triangles, God's name written in as many of these Eastern languages as Arabic, Persian, &c., as can be procured; which if you please to honour our chapel with, it will be a glory to our religion, as that which is more taken, than anything that they shall read besides, and yet our meaning is that the command-

ments, &c., be wrote in the English language."

The same letter goes on to describe their commercial transactions. They could only procure 25 out of 40 tons of seedlack indented upon them by the Company in London. They send 63 tons of stick lack, being thoroughly garbled and the flags, dust and trash taken out. Tincall they could not procure at the price set them. Of Alloes Sockratina they had procured about 11 tons. Of shellack, notwithstanding their utmost diligence, they could get no more made than 19 tons or thereabout. Turmeric, cowries, sena, coko seed, myrrh, camphor, cinnamon and goat's wool are the next items in this curious list. No less than 140 tons of pepper were sent, and 56 bales of saltpetre. Of cotton yarn they sent the desired quantity. The purchase of this had been no easy matter. The factors had been "nearest 10 months buying it, in keeping a daily market for the buying of it by small parcels as it was brought in from the villages, that we hope our care and pains will appear in its goodness and well sortment." The great obstacle in obtaining the amount required was, they say, "our strictness and severity to the weavers in keeping them to their lengths and breadths, which they would with less trouble have been brought to, were it not for other buyers who stand not so much on it as we do, especially our never failing obstructors the Dutch, who look neither to thick or thin, broad or narrow, and they want not above three quarters of a yard in length and two or two-andhalf inches in breadth, which makes us think sometimes that they do it on purpose to weary us out and hinder our buying any." The articles most in request from home appear

to have been lead, copper, broadcloth, (red and green and scarlet and popinjary,) coral-of this they wanted no less than Rs. 40,000 worth,—alum, brimstone, quicksilver, vermilion, tin, anchors and yellow amber. The same letter goes on to describe the attack made by Shiwaji, "that grand rebel of Deccan," who had now carved out for himself a kingdom which extended 160 miles from north to south along the coast, with a breadth of 100 miles. The unwisdom of Aurangzeb, the Puritan Muhammadan monarch, who had imprisoned his father Shah Jehán, and seized his throne, had actually encouraged the rise of the great Maratha, in order the more effectually to crush the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda which he should have made the bulwarks of his empire. A more detailed account of Shiwaji's doings at Surat is given a little later in a letter to the factors at Madras. "To all admiration and wonder Shiwaji, that grand rebel of Deccan, hath so privately conveyed himself into these parts with a force of 6 or 7,000 horse and foot, before the governor or any of these townspeople had the least inkling of his approach, which sudden news that he was to come to the gates of this town the next day, instantly drove that governor and all his retinue together with the eminences most considerable persons that were inhabitants into the castle, the other more inferior peoples, all of them, forsook their houses and fled with their families, some by water and others by land, leaving their houses and whatever of estates and fortunes they had, exposed to the cruelty of this rogue, who put so great a terror into them through his tyranny to those that were taken by his scouts in their flight, by cutting off the hands of many, and heads of some, that the terror of him reigned to this day in the hearts of the people, that notwithstanding here is now left by Mohábut Khan the governor of Ahmedabad an army of 1,000 horse and 500 foot, yet are the inhabitants so fear stricken, that he may return again, that the greatest part of the townspeople are since fled. From the 1st of this alarm (which was the 6th January) we sent down to the several commanders in the roads, and the next morning had 50 or 60 of their seamen sent to our aid well armed for our assistance: that day being the 7th, entered the town with fire and sword, had robbed and plundered Virgy Vorah, Hodge Said Brague (sic) those great and eminent merchants, of the greatest part of their riches with many more, and when they had possessed themselves of all, fired their houses down to the ground, all but Hodge Said's our neighbour, and that we preserved in defence of our own." He demands a "liberal gift" from the English, but they reply that they know no obligation they had to give him any thing, or he any reason to demand it, and they were resolved to maintain their own with their

lives. After finding that his messengers achieved nothing, "the next day Shiwaji sent a party of horse and foot, with combustible stuff to fire the several Bania houses that were joining to ours, hoping thereby to do as much to us; that they might not be discovered, they kept under the eaves of the houses that we could perceive only the blades of their lances, whereupon we sent a party out to fight them, that in a short time routed them out from thence, after which they came not more near us, but minded their plunder and firing the town at a distance, until said rebel had heaped to himself vast riches, to the amount of many hundreds of thousand pounds." A Mr. Anthony Smith, coming from Swally, was taken prisoner by Shiwaji. "In the time of his imprisonment" we are told, "the rogue cut off more than 26 hands in one days and many heads; whoever he was that was taken and brought before him that could not redeem himself, lost either his hand or his head." The Commander of the relieving Moghal army was delighted with the bravery of the president, Sir George Oxenden, and in reward of his good service, "he gave him a vest, a horse, and girt a sword about him."

The factors had a great idea of the effect of outward show and trappings upon the natives. In order not to be surpassed by the Dutch, we find them writing home for a trumpeter, who must be of unexceptionable character. "We are in want of a trumpeter," they write, "and wish you would please to send us one out that is able, for that these great men do often fancy the sound of our trumpets, and send to us for them when we have one, and in regard the French have two and the Dutch one, 'twill not be seemly for us only to be without; we, at present, serve ourselves for fashion's sake, of a young man who hath little or no skill; if you please to favour us therein, we entreat that care may be taken that he be

orderly and well disposed in his conversation."

The merchants are greatly troubled for want of proper weights for weighing silver. "We have, in our last, advised" they write, "that our beam and troy weights for weighing of silver are defective, and desired you would be pleased to order a new supply. Some we must now also buy, for avoirdupois weights, being in great want of beams and weights for all your factories and for Bombay; wherefore we intreated you to send us at least eight beams with weights, proportionable great and small, for those which we have in your warehouses here are not to trusted to; in your factories they have none at all, for want of which they and we cannot be so exact in our weights as otherwise we might be."

The English at Surat were year by year improving their position, and a charter granted them by Charles II, in addition

to extending their trading privileges, gave them important political and judicial authority. They were empowered choose their own Governors, and to administer British law within their settlements. They were authorised to make war with any power not Christian, to build fortifications, and to suppress the trade of interlopers. This greatly raised the statement of the Company's settlement at Surat. But a city destined to become the second city in the British Empire, when the greatness of Surat was well nigh forgotten, was now to come into the Company's hands. In 1661 the Island of Bombay was ceded by Portugal to the British Crown, as dowry of the "most excellent Princess the Lady Catherine Infanta of Portugal," upon her marriage with the "most serene and most potent Charles, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, &c." The treaty which was dated June 23rd 1661, is given at length in these volumes. The 11th article recites the objects of the treaty. It states "that for the better inprovement of the English interests and commerce in the East Indies, and that the King of Great Britain may be better enabled to assist, defend, and profect the subjects of the King of Portugal in those parts from the power and invasion of the States of the United Provinces, the King of Portugal, with the assent and advice of his council, gives, transfers, and by these presents grants and confirms to the King of Great Britain, his heirs and successors for ever, the port and island of Bombay in the East-Indies, with all the rights, profits, territories and appurtenances whatsoever thereunto belonging; and together with the income and revenue, the direct, full, and absolute dominion and sovereignty of the same port, island, and premises, with all their royalties, freely, fully, entirely, and absolutely." Not only was the King of England to protect the subjects of Portugal in India from the Dutch, but, so low had the once powerful Portugese sunk, that he also engaged, whenever Portugal should be invaded, to send thither ten good ships of war, and whenever it should be infested with pirates, to send three or four, all which ships should be sufficiently manned and furnished with provisions for eight months, and in short, take upon himself the defence of Portugal both by land and sea as if it were England itself. One of the articles lays down that, "if ever the Island (of Ceylon) should come into the power of the King of Great Britain, he is bound effectually to restore and surrender the dominion and possession of the town and port of Colombo to the King of Portugal." However, the English, and not the Portuguese flag flies over Colombo now-a-days.

But if the English did not fulfil this condition, they had ample provocation for breaking it. The Portuguese had

promised, in the plainest possible words to give with Bombay all the territories thereof. This they flatly refused to do, and they insisted that Colaba, Karanja and other islands in the harbour, not to speak of Salsette, did not form part of the bargain. The English force sent out by Charles II to take possession of the island, took up its station at Anjediva, an island off Goa, and the Earl of Marlborough who commanded it, went home for instructions, leaving the expedition in charge of Sir Abraham Shipman his second in command. Most of the troops, and Sir Abraham himself, died of pestilence, and in 1664 Mr. Humphrey Cooke, his secretary, agreed with the Portuguese to accept Bombay alone. A series of articles were drawn up and signed in January 1665, of which we select the following for quotation:—

Article 4.—"That the English gentlemen should not interfere in matters of faith, nor will compel the inhabitants of the said Island of Bombay, neither directly nor indirectly, to change their faith, or to go and attend their sermons, and shall allow the ecclesiastical ministers the exercise of their jurisdiction with-

out the least impediment.

Article 10.—That although the manor right of the Lady, the Proprietrix of Bombay, is taken away from her estates if she lives in the island, and they are not to be entermiddled with or taken away from her unless it be of her free will, she being a woman of quality, they are necessary to her maintenance, but after death, and her heirs succeed to those estates, the English gentlemen may, if they choose, take them, paying for the same their just value, as is provided in the case of other proprietors of estates, and should the English gentlemen now wish to take her houses to build forts thereupon, they shall immediately pay her their just value."

Article 12.—"That the parish priests and monks, or regular clergy that reside in Bombay, shall have all due respect paid to them as agreed upon, and the churches shall not be taken for any use whatever, nor sermons shall be preached in them, and those who may attempt it should be punished in such

manner as to serve as an example."

There are other provisions in this treaty about free trade, unrestricted use of the harbour, and full liberty to fish. This treaty was by no means acceptable to Charles II; and, in March 1676, he wrote to the Viceroy of Goa to repudiate it. "Most illustrious and most excellent Lord Viceroy," he writes, "Our very dear friend. Our subjects, throughout the East, "exercising trade, have lately preferred their complaints to us "that they experienced little of that friendly behaviour which "they expected from the Portuguese nation, but on the contrary "had met with much worse treatment there than the treaty of

"marriage between us and our dearest consort seemed to pro-"mise. In order to remedy this evil, our intention is shortly to "elucidate and explain the eleventh article of that treaty, con-"jointly with our aforesaid brother the Most Serene Prince of "Portugal, by whose justice we doubt not our Sovereign rights "in the Port and Island of Bombay and their dependencies, will "be vindicated from that very unjust capitulation which Hum-"phrey Cooke was forced to submit to at the time when that " place was first transferred to our possession, which capitulation, "neither he, Humphrey, was empowered to come into, nor any "one else to impose upon him, in contravention to a compact "framed in so solemn and religious a manner. We therefore are "determined to protest against the said capitulation as pre-"judicial to our Royal dignity, and derogatory to our right, "which we hold in the higher estimation for coming to us in " part of the dowry with our aforesaid dearest consort." Nothing, however came of this magniloquent remonstrance; and the value attached by Charles to his island seems hardly to have been so great as he pretended, since he handed it over to the Company for a rent of £10 per annum, on the undertaking that "all persons born in Bombay were to be accounted natural subjects of England." Gerald Aungier, the first President of Bombay, subsequently acquired the island of Colaba, now part of Bombay, by purchase from the Portuguese; but the others, Karanja, Salsette and Elephanta did not come into our possession for nearly a century later, on the termination of the seven years continuous fighting known as the first Marátha war.

For the present the English presidency remained at Surat, and was not transferred to Bombay till 1684. From that time Surat, although it flourished for the best part of a hundred years longer, loses much of its interest for us, and we prefer to follow the fortunes of the growing settlement at Bombay. Incidentally, however, we may note a curious list of 28 factors at Surat, opposite the name of one of whom, named Val Hurse, we find the terse description "drinking sot." Before moving the seat of their administration, the Surat merchants drew up a remarkable series of rules for the government of their new acquisition. The first shows that the value they attached to Bombay was much on a par with that felt for it by their sovereign. "That in regard," it runs, "the general charges of this island are great and do far exceed the revenue, now that the customs are given free and the seized lands returned; wherefore to the end that the sole burthen of the charge may not light on the Company only, seeing they reap no benefit thereby, it seems reasonable that a general tax or assessment be enordered on the respective inhabitants." For the encouragement of trade, it was decreed that interest be settled and

reduced to 9 per cent., and that all manner of extortion be prohibited on severe penalty. Artificers and handicraftsmen, provided they were of the reformed religion, were to be encouraged to settle on the island. "The handicraftsmen which are chiefly wanting are husbandmen and gardeners who understand planting and improving of grounds, the ground of Bombay being apt to receive and bring forth any plant whatsoever when the times and seasons of planting are sufficiently understood; weavers both of silk and cotton, &c., who in a short time may procure to themselves a very comfortable livelihood, carpenters for building of houses as well as ships, who are much wanted and much esteemed, smiths who are also much wanted, gun-smiths and lock-smiths, armourers, bakers, cooks shoe-makers, tailors, dyers, barbers, button-makers, ribbond, weavers, butchers, haberdashers of small ware, &c." Bombay had, indeed, to begin from the beginning. How did the

Portuguese get on without bakers and ribbond-weavers?

The early government was a very paternal one. There were rules for everything down to the minutest details. This is what the factors ordered with regard to clothing: "That for the encouragement of good husbandry, by preventing the vain and immoderate excess of apparel, as also for the greater consumption of our own native manufactures, a standing law be established by the Honourable Company, that no apparel or outward garments, to wit, tunics, vests, doublets, breeches, be used or worn by any Christian inhabitants on the said island, those of the Eastern Church excepted, of what quality, nation, and condition so ever, but such as are made of English manufactures, or brought out of England in our own shipping, whether of wool or cotton." The grounds and reasons "for establishing this so necessary an order" are given at length; but we confess that they appear to us rather entertaining than convincing. They are too long for quotation. We cannot omit this order about uniform :- "That for the greater decency of the military order, all the soldiers, as well officers as others, be required to wear red serges or perpetuanoes only in the summer time, or red cloth in the winter, which shall be afforded them at reasonable and cheap rates from the Company's warehouse." Nor was the difficulty as to getting suitable wives for the settlers ignored. The righteous souls of the factors were vexed at the sight of the sons of Englishmen being brought up "in the Roman Catholic principles to the great dishonour and weakening the Protestant religion and interest." So Englishwomen were imported from home, and the children of all Protestant fathers were to be brought up carefully in the Protestant religion, though the mothers thereof be Roman Catholics,—Portuguese mestise women, natives of the island.

As regards weavers no difficulty was anticipated in attracting them to Bombay, "seeing the country of Shewaji and Decan is harrassed and much ruined by the wars. If you did employ some persons to write the weavers of those parts to come over, they would gladly accept it, if only for a secure livelihood sake."

The defence of the island was taken in hand, but economy was strictly observed. "Our militia is now perfected," the Bombay factors write in January 1677, "we having increased them to a complete body of near 600 men, who are all possessors of land in the island. We shall see them well trained up and disciplined, that they may be serviceable and to be relied on upon the most emergent occasions." " The charge of the officers is as much abbreviated as possible, the whole body having but one Captain, who has but Lieutenant's pay, and the Lieutenant, Ensign's pay, some of the sergeants but corporal's pay." This is economy with a vengeance, but what follows is still better. "Corporals, but very few, some of which we shall pick out of the militia, that shall serve without pay." They also raised a small troop of 40 horse, "than which nothing can be of greater safeguard to the island, for, besides the extraordinary fame of horse in these countriesone horse being esteemed equivalent to 50 foot—they are such an ubiquitary force (what an adjective!) that in half-an hour's time, by taking up 40 soldiers behind them, we can have 80 men in any part of the island completely armed, ready to impede an enemy's landing, or to quiet any sudden insurection." The horses must have been of a wonderful breed if they could achieve this extraordinary task. We are afraid the statement must be taken cum grano salis; or else the factors had a very vague idea of the size of their island.

Then, as now, the results of all irregularity of living were set down to the climate, but some of the factors knew how to diagnose the evil more correctly. "The soldiers" they say, "do not die by any such fatality concomitant to the clime as some vainly imagine, but by their irregularity and want of due attendance when sick. For to persons in a flux, &c., which is the country diseases, strong drink and flesh is mortal, which to make an English soldier leave off, is almost as difficult as to make him divest his nature, nay, though present death be laid down before him as the reward of the ill-gratifying his palate. This is the true cause our Bombay

bills of mortality have come so high."

Gerald Aungier, we observe, had a very marked preference for the reformed religion, but he was neverthless no bigot. "The free exercise of religion is permitted to all with the use of their ceremonies at weddings and feasts the Bannians, &c. always burning their dead without molestations, neither do we permit any person to kill anything near the Bannians, who all live by themselves, much less can any person persume to enter into anybody's house or compound without the owner's licence, and for forcing people to turn Christian against their wills, the whole world will vindicate us, neither are any persons forced to carry burdens against their wills."

In June 1677, the Company suffered a great loss. "It hath pleased God" the Surat factors' write, "to our great sorrow, after a tedious sickness, to take out of this life our worthy President, Gerald Aungier, who died this morning between four and five of the clock. Our thoughts are now taken up in giving orders and directions for the decent burial of the defunct, whom, God willing, we intend to inter on Monday next in such manner as the time and place may admit." Aungier had been a statesman of great judgment and firmness. He was one of the great men who helped to build up the fabric of the British Indian Empire. We have seen how he created a militia in Bombay, secured what was the separate Island of Colaba, and encouraged silk weavers and other artisans to settle in the town. He also laid out the streets of the city, built fortifications, and quelled a mutiny among British soldiers, allowed freedom of religion, when all around was nothing but intolerance, and governed the mixed population under a system of panchayet. On his death the judgment of the Council at Surat was, that " amid a succession of difficulties, he preserved the English trade for sixteen years."

The need for a judicature soon showed itself. The economy observed in the military department was extended to the judicial. The following quotation will show the value that was set upon the services of a judge, and it also gives a good example of the strange juxtaposition of subjects that is so common in these papers. "The Carmania goats," the Bombay merchants write, "are all dead; spotted deer we shall send home, some by the Europe ships if they touch here. We do not see the absolute necessity of allowing £120 to a judge, not that we would have the island destitute of a person invested with authority to determine the weightiest causes, but the very name sounds two great for the place. It looks like the great gate of little Pendus that made Diogenes afraid the city would run out at them. Those who come to these parts are commonly mean persons, or young men but very little skilled in our law, and the name of a judge does fill them with such a pride, that they lose reason in the contemplation of their greatness, and think no man their superior, scarcely their equal. . . . The Company formerly ordered that only some one of the factors that was a sober

and discreet person, might officiate that place, who would, we suppose, be well satisfied to have only the profit of the seals allowed him to his salary which the former judges had."

The difficulty in obtaining proper medicines appears to have been chronic. In 1686 they write that the mortality has this year been exceedingly violent, and they shall want much recruits by all opportunities; and chiefest reason can be given is the absolute want of good Europe medicines that should have been yearly sent out fresh. Country physic serves only to augment the charge of the garrison, and does men more harm than good.

The English residents at Surat had much to endure at the hands of the Moghal authorities. Towards the end of Aurangzib's reign, there was one specially tyrannical Governor, Dianat Khan. A merchant named Hosson Ammadan (sic) tried to extort nearly five lakhs of rupees from the English on a false charge that he had been robbed of that amount by English pirates. The Governor, Dianat Khan, supported this claim, and demanded restitution. "We returned answer," the factors say, "we robbed not Hosson Ammadan nor nobody, and would not pay or deposit anything; if the King's orders are to kill us, let him come and do it quickly, we would sell our lives as dear as we could. Our people on board the ships at the river's mouth and likewise those in the factory, we could not longer restrain from attempting something extraordinary for the support of life, therefore he would do well to consider where it would end." This communication did not have the desired effect. The next item is that "the Governor relaxed his severity, and allowed us a certain quantity of provisions and water, &c. as he did after our first enlargement, and appointed persons to treat with us, sometimes in a threatening manner and sometimes flattering." Some of the prisoners managed to escape to the ships. As for the rest, the negociation continued for a long time, when the Governor was recalled, a new one appointed, and the factors released. They attributed Dianat Khan's disgrace to the "undue measures he had taken in the affairs of the port."

For years and years the Company had to maintain a powerful fleet against the Angrias, the fierce pirates of the Western coast. The instructions given to the commanders of the vessels in 1739, smack somewhat of Cromwell's injunctions to his soldiers—'to trust in God and keep their powder dry.' They were "in the first place to take care to keep up the service of God on board the vessel you command according to the liturgy of the church of England, that the same be devoutly and decently performed every Lord's day, and on all other appointed seasons, as often as can be done with conveniency, and be very strict in observing a good decorum and discipline among your ship's company,

severely punishing all profaneness or blasphemers of God's holy name, and on no account permit gaming of any sort. Keep your vessel always in a posture of offending as well as defending. You are to take, burn, sink, or otherwise destroy all savages or other pirates infesting this coast as Angria, &c."

During the presidency of Charles Boone there was a certain stiffnecked divine named Richard Cobbe, who fell foul of various of the Company's servants, amongst whom was a Mr. John Braddyll, who strongly resented the reverend gentleman's interference. The chaplain objected to Mr. Braddyll employing workman on the top of his house on Sundays; and to the excuse that the rainy season was at hand, and if it commenced before he had covered his house, it would inevitably be washed down, Mr. Cobbe burst out and said, he did not care if all the houses in the town were washed away, provided no work was done on Sundays. Not satisfied with this expression of opinion, his ecclesiastical zeal manifested itself in the following way: we quote Mr. Braddyl's words:-" After the congregation, of which I happened to be one, had placed themselves at the altar in a posture for receiving the communion, Mr. Cobbe having consecrated the elements, turned himself towards me and spoke with a loud voice and said, 'Mr. Braddyll.' To which I made no answer, thinking him to be out of his senses, but he repeated it a second time and said, 'Mr. Braddyll, have you been working on Sundays, unless that, I cannot administer you this sacrament.' To the best of my remembrance I told him I had. He went still further and said he would not give me communion unless I would promise him and the congregation there present, that I would work no more on Sundays. I told him I would not, unless necessity obliged me, upon which he condescended to treat me like the rest of the community." A formal complaint against the chaplain was made to the President, to which the minister replied that it was laid down in the rubric that "if any person be a notorious evil liver, he is to be admonished not to come to the Lord's table till he hath repented." As in the opinion of the Members of the Council, Mr. Braddyll was not a notorious evil liver, because he had employed workmen to repair his house on Sundays, it was decided that as Mr. Cobbe had affronted him publicly in the church, he should ask his pardon there; and so on the following Sunday, Mr. Cobbe notified to this congregation here present, that on more mature consideration he found himself to be in the wrong, and did hereby beg Mr. Braddyll's pardon for the injury done him and the offence given him to the other communicants. The lesson was not, however, taken to heart, for a few months later we find the reverend gentleman again in trouble. "It is likewise but too notoriousand usual with him "we learn, "to draw odious characters in his sermons, and apply them to such persons with whom he has had any words of difference. In order, therefore, to secure this Government against the evils which such seditious services and discourses may possibly have on the minds of some people, especially at this time of actual war with our enemy, and an apprehension of a rupture with our neighbours the Portuguese, when there is all the need imaginable of union and firm resolution it is resolved that Mr. Richard Cobbe be suspended from the Right Honorable Company's service, and from officiating

as their chaplain and from receiving a further salary."

On one occasion, in 1748, when they had a difference of opinion with the Dutch, there was some difficulty through the Mynheer's ignorance of English. The Dutch Chief writes thus to the English factory—"I just now had the honour to receive your much esteemed favour of this day, but I am extremely sorry that I cannot understand it, neither have I anybody that can translate or even read it intelligibly and well, and therefore I am obliged to have recourse to your goodness, and to desire you in the humblest manner to let me have a translation of it either in French, Latin, Dutch or High Dutch, or please to send me a trusty man who can explain the contents, though only in Portuguese." In pursuance of the above, we are told that a Mr. Price was sent to the Dutch Directors by the

English Chiefs to explain their letter.

The Moghal empire had now become a mere shadow of its pristine glory, and an object of contempt to its former tributaries. We find frequent references in the merchants' letters and diaries to the growing power of the Marathas. The Portuguese power had sunk into decrepitude. The French on the other side of India, inspired by the genius of Dupleix, were already engaged in founding an empire. But, with the exception of their struggles with the Angrias, the English had not yet drawn their sword. After nearly a century and a half they were still merchants on the coast. Their time had not yet come; but its coming was not to be much longer delayed. Meanwhile a fierce conflict was being waged upon their borders between the Marathas and the Portuguese; and in 1739 the rich island of Salsette and the fort of Thana was taken by the warlike Hindus. The English had never forgiven the Portuguese for their breach of the treaty for the transfer of Bombay with the whole of its possessions; and we find the Portuguese commander at Thana bitterly complaining, that "your island is continually furnishing the Marathas with powder and ball, for in the winter season, from the artillery with which the Marathas fired against the town, the balls are all hammered, but since the spring, they are cast, and with English marks. The island of Versova is continually supplied with vessels from your island with whatever it wants, as well with ammunition as other sorts." The English were undoubtedly pleased at the downfall of the Portuguese, but they entertained with abundant hospitality the unsuccessful garrison of Salsette. They were however awakened by this event, and the capture of Bassein, which took place soon afterwards, to the strength of the Maratha nation; and they deemed it advisable to make a bid for their friendship. The nominal ruler of the Marathas was Shiwaji, or Sahu as he was commonly called, a grandson of the founder of the Maratha empire. But the real power was rapidly passing from the king to the minister; and Sahu was not much more than a puppet in the hands of the Peshwa Baji Rao. The English sent a double embassy in the person of Captain Inchbird to Chimnaji, the victorious commander at Bassein, and Captain Gordon to Sáhu at Satara. The President's letter to Sáhu states that "to this end therefore I send Captain Gordon, a person of trust, to your Majesty's presence, there to testify the great zeal and desire I have to deserve your friendship, and approve my readiness to serve your Majesty on all occasions, wishing thereby to establish a good correspondence betwixt your Majesty's subjects and those under this government; and more especially as they are become so much nearer neighbours." Captain Gordon found that his mission should have been to the Peshwa who was the real ruler, and not to Sahu. Both embassies were favourably received, and the right of free trade in the Maratha dominions confirmed.

But our space is drawing to a close, and we have not dealt with half the passages that we had selected for quotation. We must leave untouched the stirring scenes of the first and second Maratha wars, the history of the French intrigues under St. Lubin, the hardships of the Company's servants owing to their miserably insufficient salaries, the early attempts at communication with Europe by the overland route, the terrible sufferings of the soldiers and officers of the Bombay army who were taken prisoners by Tipu, the Sultan of Mysore, and the opinion of Lord Wellesley on the uselessness of Aden and Perim as places 'd'armes. We must, however, give in full, an autograph letter from Colonel Arthur Wellesley, the future Duke of Wellington, describing the battle of Assaye. The letter is given in fac-simile.

Camp, September 25th, 1803.

SIR,

I attacked the united armies of Daolat Rao Sindiah and the Rajah of Berar with my division on the 23rd, and the

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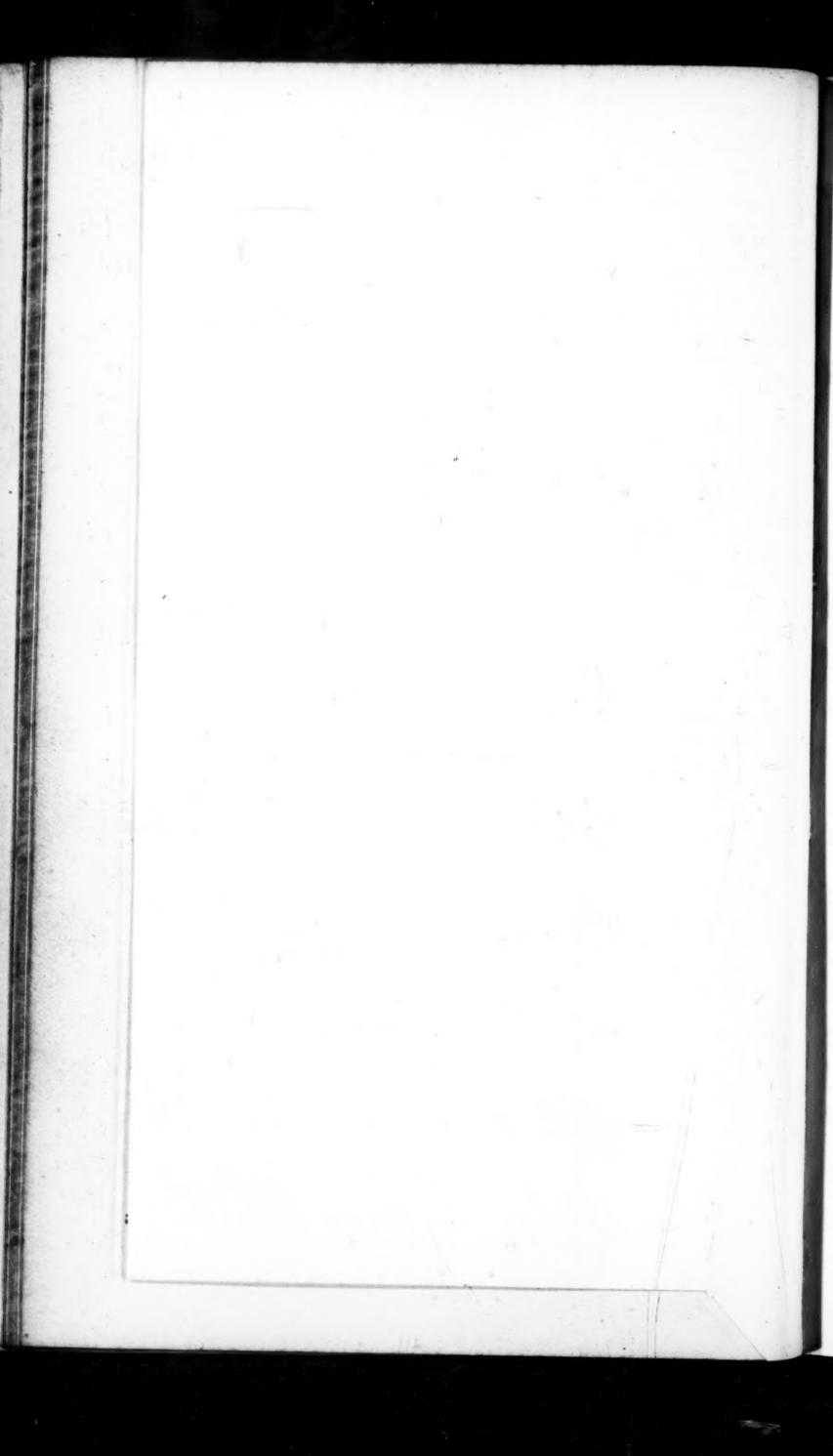
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result of the action which ensued was that they were compleatly defeated with the loss of 90 pieces of cannon which I have taken. I have suffered a great loss of officers and men. I enclose a copy of my letter to the Governor-General in which I have given him a detailed account of the events which led to and occurred in the action. I have the honour to be, Sir, with great respect, your most obedient and faithful humble servant,

ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

JONATHAN DUNCAN, Esq. (Governor of Bombay.)

Each of the series has an introduction by Mr. Forrest, giving a sketch of the history of the period. It would have been more convenient, especially as the history of the time is well known, if, instead of an introduction, there was a note to each of the papers showing briefly the circumstances under which it was written. The papers in the home series should have been given in chronological order, irrespective of whether they were written at Bombay or Surat. As it is, we first read of the death of Aungier, and then we get the details of what he had done for the last 10 years or so. The expression that "the life of Shiwaji is but a small stream of historic record" is a curious one. Gujarat is incorrectly stated to be in Hindustan. But such slips are exceedingly few in number, and they only serve to point out the wonderful care which characterises the volumes as a whole. The only cause for regret is, that the papers leave off at 1803. We hope that some day Mr. Forrest may be authorized to carry on his researches to a much later date. There can be no longer any political reason for keeping secret the papers that relate to the troublous times of 1857 and 1858; and their publication might throw much light on events and their causes that are still obscure.

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EDMUND C. COX.

ART. II.-EDUCATION AND HINDUISM IN BENGAL.

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THERE is no doubt that Mr. Cotton in his "New India" has struck a deep chord of sympathy among the educated classes of India, especially those of Bengal; and he has stimulated the very sentiments that, in our opinion, needed repression. He argues that these classes are now so advanced and so well furnished intellectually, that they should be given a much greater share of the rule of the country, and that England's task is to do little more than keep the peace. Above all, he pleads for their being allowed to entirely manage their educational affairs; and here, as we shall explain further on, we are in complete accord with him, provided they are compelled to do so at their own expense. As far as we understand Mr. Cotton, he considers the English educated Native, with a few points excepted, a complete success, and he sees nothing wrong in the system that has created him. The Englishman's dislike of him, as compared with his less educated fellow countryman, is imputed to the unworthy feeling of jealousy, as the Englishman has now a rival where he formerly had none. Further, in "New India," we find the system of Caste strongly defended, if not lavishly praised, and we are told that "the admirable order of Hinduism is too valuable to be rashly sacrificed before any Moloch of progress." We will now try and show, that while the educated classes are still in close organic union with Hinduism and continue to represent "its chief attribute of stability," they also represent its persistence in favoring privileged orders of society, and in thus destroying all individuality, and in condemning the masses to a servile condition. We believe that the repugnance of an Englishman to an educated Native is that he is unreal, that he has acquired a lot of knowledge for which he has no proper use, and of which he is inordinately proud, and that he is essentially an aristocrat in exclusiveness and contempt of the lower orders.

Now, the end of education is to enable a man better to use his faculties, and to use them beneficially for himself and for others. And in so doing he will inevitably help to enrich society, and place the life of all its members under more favourable conditions. An education that does not render a man a more useful member of society, has some wrong element in it. Let us then see if the English education now being bestowed on the youth of Bengal has such effects: and we must be excused if we begin at first principles. The education of the whole upper ranks of a nation is of no mean importance, and

it will not, we trust, be out of place to connect it with the nation's moral and economic condition. A class cannot ask to

be judged alone, but in relation to its fellow classes.

But before going further, we would here record our emphatic dissent from Mr. Cotton's proposition that: " Better is order without progress, if that were possible, than progress without order." We hold just the opposite; for order without progress is very possible, and means decline; and this principle of Mr. Cotton's has vitiated his whole view of our occupation of India. Order is not the object of our being here, it is only the means to an end. But we are here to deliver the people from a most soul-crushing tyranny, under which the human mind and the moral feelings have been almost annihilated, "Were Mr. Cotton's idea of making Native public opinion the practical arbiter of all internal policy to be adopted, it is perfectly certain that the conservatism of Hinduism would commence a retrograde movement all along the line; and it is as certain, that the true level of Hinduism is no higher now than it was, when it sanctioned Suttee, child murder, and self-immolation, and made cow-killing the next greatest crime after the killing of a Brahman. In fact, we have not really moved the centre of gravity

for Hindu thought.

Let us first consider what progress India is making under its present social and educational principles. What has been India's material progress since our coming? At the close of the Great Napoleonic wars, Great Britain, having a population of 20 millions, had a debt of about 300 millions of pounds. The Civil War of America imposed on the United States a debt of equal magnitude. Yet to neither of these nations did their stupendous debts offer any impediment to their increase in prosperity. On the contrary, to each the period since their indebtedness, has been the chief period of their advance in the arts and sciences, and in the acquisition of material wealth. And it may be safely asserted, that Great Britain could bear a burden of twice the weight as easily now, as she was able to sustain that of 800 millions in 1815. But India, with a population of some 250 millions, is supposed to be taxed to her utmost to support her present indebtedness of 200 millions, and to raise some 50 millions of income. The wealth-producing power of Great Britain and of the United States is certainly wonderful, and this power has been well ascribed to the effect produced by the incessant pursuit of every experimental science, and by the incessant effort of every man to get on in life. And surely the inefficiency of labour, and the poverty of so vast and populous a country as India, is also wonderful; and the reason may be expressed in some such converse terms, as: There is no pursuit of experimental science, and few efforts

made by individuals to improve their position? Now, we are often told by public writers, that our administration is an intolerable burden on account of its costliness, and much argument is expended in showing that that this is the chief reason of India's poverty. But if the revenue raised from Opium be deducted, the part which is spent unproductively is most ludicrously small considering the population. The truth then really is, that India's poverty is solely owing to the fearful unproductiveness of labour. It is not that so much wealth is taken out of the country, but that so little is produced within it. The first reply then to the question, why India is so poor, is that she

has no capital. But this only provokes another question.

One hundred years ago the United States had no capital, and England comparatively little. Why have they since increased their capital tenfold, nay, the United States, one might say, a hundred fold, while India has remained almost stationary? The answer now given will perhaps be, that the people of India have no energy. But the mass of them certainly have physical energy, and the peasantry who compose perhaps 9-10ths of the population, are certainly wise and shrewd in their own concerns, and do not differ so very much from the peasantry of properous countries in the West. Even in Lower Bengal, where physical energy is supposed to be most lacking, the cultivator will laborously dig up the hardest and stiffest soil, because the plough will not reach deep enough. The causes then which make one country rich and powerful, and leave another poor and weak, assuredly are not of a physical kind, but are rather spiritual, social, and mental. May we not therefore define the chief cause, which makes for riches in the West, as the possession of character, while the absence of it amongst orientals keeps them poor. And character is individualism. Thus a man who applies his mind with whatever knowledge it possesses, to all facts coming before him, determines in each case what course he shall take; and as the facts of life are innumerable, and diverse to each individual, the man who separately compares and discriminates between them, creates for himself a condition of being different from that of others. All such men have character or individualism. Whereas he who treats all facts as his fellows do, and never exercises his discernment with regard to them, is characterless, that is, has no individualism. Probably there is more character in ten ordinary Englishmen, Germans, Frenchmen or Americans than there is to be found among a thousand Natives of India, even those of the so-called educated classes.

Our argument then is this: that for a people to become rich and great, they must have character or individualism: and we have tried to explain what we mean by these terms. Next, we

have asserted that the nations of the West have these qualities, and we could, we think, easily prove that the progress of each one in the arts and sciences, and the accumulation of wealth, is proportionate to its individualism. The citizens of the United States are first in individualism, and they are the richest and most progressive. The British come next. They have been allowed for years to exercise free political, social, and religious opinions, and their characters have been developed accordingly. The people of India are amongst the poorest on the face of the earth, and we find, that in forming opinions, they are like a flock of sheep. They are born under the influence of certain stock ones concerning all the facts of life, and the manifestations of nature; and they die probably never having changed one, or challenged one. If any argument were needed to prove that character or individualism will rapidly produce a rich and thriving community, one that will bring to bear on the forces of nature, all the skill and mechanism that man's intellect had grasped, let us conceive two colonies of emigrants, one from the West and the other from the East, suddenly settled in a rich but uncivilised region. The latter would undoubtedly merely rely on its customary methods and try to live its old life again, while the latter would be ready to turn to the best advantage every feature of the situation. For the Asiatic, there would be, as it were, only one mind (and that fully occupied) to battle with the difficulties and dangers. While with the European, each individual mind would be on the alert, to try and comprehend what nature would allow it to do. But the Eastern mind has not always been thus a slave to custom. The great empires of the east, the Assyrian, the Persian, and those of still older date, were built up by individual genius and effort, not of one man, but of many. The aristocracies of those days had men of character, men who would both think and act, like the present leaders of the Western nations. Nature in its grandeur and simplicity has given man character and capacity to acquire power over its forces. Man himself, in his conceit and littleness, has destroyed that capacity by imposing artificial restraints on the mind. The East is weak and poor because the mind is enslaved, and it wants not more knowledge, but more freedom.

Now, in the light of these reflections, let us consider how Bengal, if not India, is being treated educationally. We have determined that the men who make a nation rich and prosperous are those with individuality, who will, with their thousands of eyes, and thousands of minds, be continually studying the book of nature, and be acting accordingly, advancing here a little and there a little, each step in itself

imperceptible, but all together forming the grand march of progress. A nation of philosophers who could quote all the wisdom that ever has been collected by the human intellect, would be a stationary one, while poor ignorant men, who would watch and observe and act, would in due course be abreast of the vanguard of civilisation. Is not our educational department doing its best to produce a sterile and useless nation of philosophers out of the classes. An educated Native is becoming a by-word for the knowledge that puffeth up and is useless. He is generally less observant of nature and more helpless in the affairs of life than his unlearned brethren and his own forefathers. Many of the latter had character, few of their sons have. Had they this quality, with the stores of knowledge poured out before them, they would be covering the face of India with wealth. Instead of that, they see not with their eyes, nor think with their minds. They crowd the law Courts, where reason and not thought is needed. They can devise means to torture the meaning of legislative Acts, and to make the worse appear the better reason. They struggle for landed rights, and for the unearned increment. They rush into the fray of angry and barren political discussion, but they are nowhere to be found confronting nature, and wresting her secrets from her. They are not historians co-ordinating the social and political facts of the past in order to discover wisdom for the future. Curiously they cannot even write the social and economic account of a district, so little power of observation do they possess. Government is ever proclaiming its anxiety to have such histories, but though many have been written by Englishmen, educated natives never rise to the occasion. Again, they do not produce men of science nor of public philanthropy, for they have no sympathy with the masses: though they will endow schools to teach the young of the classes. Very, very few of them become enlightened landlords, draining marshes, improving water channels, introducing scientific methods of cultivation, and studying the moral and physical condition of their tenantry. Neither do they become capitalists, for they hardly ever invest their savings productively. Indeed, they have no idea of the use of money beyond usury or acquiring landed property for the sake of the influence it brings. The merchants and traders of the country are men with only a vernacular education, and in the new industries, the English educated Native is not to be found. He is not practical enough, and is too averse to the rough and hard life new industries require. Besides, as we have pointed out, he has no character to observe the facts that lead to success. In the Jessore district, where the writer is now

serving, there is an immense sugar industry, producing lakhs upon lakhs worth of sugar annually. It has enriched the peasantry, and made them a thriving community. All over the district there are sugar factories, and the owners of them, and the dealers who export, are men of capital and substance. But with the competition going on, and owing to the necessity of buying direct from the cultivators, the trade requires hard and active labour, and a knowledge of affairs generally. Now, in this trade, we believe not a single English educated Native is to be found. We asked a Native gentleman the reason of this: and he immediately answered, it was because they did not care to mix with common rough people. Exactly so: they are aristocratic, in the exclusive sense, to the very core. Yet the district literally swarms with educated Native gentlemen. Here is the educational census of one village of 3,000 inhabitants: 4 M. A.s, 23 B. A.s, 7 B. L.s, 6 Licentiates in medicine, 54 undergraduates, and 40 others who can speak English. But all these are either in Government employ or practising law or medicine. In fact, an educated Native in trade, or in any productive business, is almost unknown.

Then turning to religion, we find them Laodicean, for having no character they make no decision. As far as they believe any thing, their religion is a rationalism tinged with idolatry. As the author of "New India" puts it, they read the Arcopagitica with its scathing denunciations of priestcraft and idolatry in college hours, and go home to acquiesce in idolatrous and superstitious rites. Or as an old educationist describes it: "the man who can expound the Newtonian Astronomy, consults his astrologer with the same deference as the most ignorant villager." Can any moral force of character come from such a life? Is the sterility of the Native mind to be wondered at. And yet Mr. Cotton would persuade his readers, that the salvation of India is in the hands of these men, and woe to us if we ignore them. Their leading and influence are a pure fiction. Nearly all the wealth, as well as the commercial and political capacity of the country, are still with those who have had no English education. The latter more or less denationalises a man and renders him a cypher. And, except that he is helping to govern the country, he is doing no good by his education. In no way does he develope its resources; and unless he assumes a different intellectual attitude, he will, as the masses increase in wealth and intelligence, be displaced. He has no vigour or innate vitality, and is essentially parasitic.

But through mistaken policy here in Bengal, the Government has handed over nearly the entire administration to the English educated Hindus, ignoring the claims of classes and races,

who, owing to their possessing character have refused to be crammed. By this process our Government is certainly being weakened, and deprived of the natural masculine strength it might have had; and it is only the peacefulness and contentment of the masses, that enable us to carry on our rule by means of a weak and emasculated agency. In a recent publication by a Hindu we find the following :- "In Bengal, the "Mahomedans are admittedly inferior in intellectual acquire-"ments, but superior in physical strength, to the Hindus. "If the ægis under which we have been reposing be suddenly "withdrawn, and if a struggle for existence were to take place, "there can be little doubt that the Mahomedans will gain the "ascendancy in Bengal." If such a statement is true, and there is certainly much truth in it, there is something wrong in our present policy. In our opinion, it is mere cant to say that the Mahomedans have lost nearly all Government employ owing to their own obstinacy. It was because they have less supple characters, and cannot be bribed into transforming themselves into mere imitators. Of course, the ruling Mahomedan class that we found in possession had great vices. They had the insolence of conquerors, the intolerance of bigots, and the effeminacy of debauchees. They became corrupt, and unfit to exercise any power. But the genuine reason why they have since been entirely discarded as public servants, was our own supineness. The Hindus rapidly learnt English and made themselves useful; -and greatly owing to laziness of administration, they were allowed to displace their Mahomedan fellowsubjects. We found nearly the whole administrative work of the country carried on by Mahomedans, and they were especially strong in the legal profession: now they are almost obliterated from public employ except of a menial kind. For instance in Jessore, there are 10 Deputy Collectors and Sub-Deputy Collectors, and 12 Civil Court Judges. All are Hindus. Out of 17 Sub-Registrars, 5 only are Mahomedan, though there are special orders favouring their appointment in this department. There are 5 Inspectors and 31 Sub-Inspectors of Police. Out of them all, only 3 sub-Inspectors are Mahomedan. All the educational officers are Hindu. This is a strange contrast to 1793, when (Mr. Westland informs us) out of 19 police officers in this district, only one was a Hindu; and we may assume that Mahomedans filled most other public offices. But a Civil List, if consulted, will show that both the proportion and the absolute number of Mahomedans in Government employ in Bengal was much greater a few years ago than it is now. And yet undeniably they have, in the interval, more availed themselves of the benefit of English education. For instance in 1873, out of 438 Criminal and Civil Judicial officers, there were 71 Mahomedans—whereas in 1887 there

were only 37 out of 570. So the number has decreased both relatively and absolutely. That is, fifteen years ago they held about 15 per cent. of high civil posts, they now hold about 6 per cent. In the face of this and of the expressed desire of Government to give them employment, it is rather surprising to find that in High English Schools as many as 95 per cent. of the scholars are Mahomedans. So, to say that their refusal of education has been the cause of their rejection, is not true. There are other causes; the chief of which are their strong characters, and their individualism; and they have been pushed aside by the impervious phalanx, and the solidarity of the Hindu classes. Their very strength has been their weakness owing to our overwhelming power being in the balance against them. The Hindu classes cling together, and know no divisions except personal ones. They can work as a whole, and their sentiments and opinions cannot clash. Whereas among Mahomedans the individuality of man asserts itself. Thus, the peasantry show a vigorous self-assertiveness. Of course, they have not the rich individualism of the foremost nations of the West; but they evince a power of forming parties and combinations for material ends (witness the Indigo disturbances) that is utterly absent from the Hindus, who have been crushed into one conglomerate mass. Hindus quarrel and split up into small factions, but the line of cleavage only separates small côteries of the same caste. Whereas Mahomedan parties will separate a whole country side. The deduction is obvious. The outlook of Mahomedan society is a general one, whereas that of the Hindu is confined to social circles. The mind of the former is of a democratic type, and is not so cramped by social oppression; while that of the Hindu is essentially aristocratic and narrow. The effect of the greater individualism of the Mahomedans has been that Eastern and Central Bengal is rich and prosperous. The small yeoman farmers with their sub-tenants are not only industrious but are full of enterprise, and display great push and energy in their small undertakings. These qualities are apparent amongst Mahomedans generally, and they come to the front where hard and disagreeable work has to be done. But in all the great lines of trade, where the market has to be studied, and bills of exchange understood, the Hindus, with their greater grasp of principles and better educated minds, are supreme.

There is no doubt that there was no need of education to make the Hindu a good merchant; in fact, as we have said, the trading classes will have nothing to say to English education. For the management of the internal trade of India, he has always been excellent. As communications have been opened out, he has immediately availed himself of them to the full, and so likewise of

the telegraph. As the educated Native is eminently fitted for the directive agency of a civilised Government, so is the Hindu of the old school unrivalled in the distributive departments. But it is when you come to the productive, that both utterly fail. Neither of them ever look nature in the face. understand artificial man; but of his innate capacities they are utterly ignorant. Hence, as long as the Hindu element is allowed to preponderate so overwhelmingly, the progress of the country will be retarded. We shall have order it is true, owing to the conservativeness of the Hindu character, but strength and progress will be absent; and order alone will not arrest the decay and corruption which Hinduism inevitably carries with it. As has been well remarked, though Hinduism has its head reaching up to heaven, its feet are down in the lowest depths of human depravity. Though its philosophy is of the purest, its practices are most unholy. It also consecrates the worst instincts of man, showing him no holiness or righteousness. Islamism, as well as Christianity, makes for righteousness: but the pantheism of Hinduism displays to poor human nature only

its own image for it to worship.

Our foregoing remarks should incidentally explain the failure of Christian missionaries to effect any conversions among educated Hindus. The non-conversion of Mahomedans is accepted as not unnatural, because they have already a reasonable montheism, and moreover. they refuse to be educated in the learning of the West. But here is Hinduism, full of the grossest idolatry, and requiring of its votaries often a belief in puerile absurdities; and yet Hindus, though greedily devouring our literature and science, hardly ever abandon their religion. The reason, as I have explained, is that their minds are not free; they have absolutely no original thought or individuality; they do not absorb the knowledge, there is no fusion If they did, their knowledge would not remain barren. Consequently the educated Hindu no more gives the natural man or conscience a choice of accepting or rejecting Christianity, than does the unlettered Hindu or the ordinary Mahomedan. Whether it is hereditary propensity strengthened by his environment, or whatever is the mysterious cause, the Hindu cannot think outside of his social laws and customs, and they are part of his religion. We must accept the fact that amongst Hindus you cannot get at the individual. In fine, the man himself cannot get at his own individuality, he apparently cannot pass on thought to it. For if he did, it would be bound to result in action; but as we have seen, knowledge is merely reproduced in the same form as it was taken. Whereas, if it had been acted upon by the alchemy of thought, a new product would have appeared. We cannot give the reason of this, but it is a fact to be kept in view, and will explain many

things.

This solidarity, this imperviousness to thought, this artificial habit of mind are indissolubly connected with Caste. Hindu society is one complex whole, and Caste is the means by which it works. Within it original thought or individualism is impossible, and as without them there can be no progress, no education can tend to progress which has no solvent power on Hindu society. What, then, is our present system? We should describe it as being one by which Government favours as much as possible the education of the Hindu classes en masse. As many of them as possible crowd into the district high schools, where young masters, themselves uneducated and untrained, give them a smattering of English and mathematics at very low tuition fees. Besides this smattering of knowledge, the pupils gain nothing. To our mind the outcome would be ridiculous, if it were not painful. The student is of course nondescript, and has only come into existence to be the agent between Hinduism and Western civilization. He is to be in the latter, though not of it. He is to be in strict organic union with Hinduism, but to manipulate methods which are in indirect antagonism to it. That in so far as he is educated he is uninteresting, except as a study, that he is unnatural, and that he is useless except for the above purpose is a matter of course. He must be so, for the knowledge he has acquired is foreign matter, which his being cannot absorb. He is a Hindu to the very innermost fibre, and the knowledge he has crammed, is merely an instrument of trade, and does not affect his character more than the colour of his clothes. Even the best and highest education which the Calcutta University gives does not, as a rule, affect more than the intellect. Everything is looked at in its dry light, and the moral feelings and thoughts are not touched. Consequently Hindu gentlemen, occupying the highest position under the State, are as strictly in union with Hinduism, and as wholly devoid of thoughts which travel beyond, as the most ignorant cultivator or the pettiest trader. The only difference is that the intellect of one is cultivated and stored with knowledge, and of the other is in a natural state of ignorance. Both equally refuse to examine the facts of the moral and physical world for themselves.

It is true that the High English Schools are chiefly supported financially by the Natives themselves. But Government by its officers and its patronage gives them most substantial help. It often makes a grant of public money for a building, but above all, its favour induces many rich Natives to subscribe liberally. Therefore very much of the high education is directly due to the assistance of the State. But below the High

Schools are Middle English ones. In these begins the education of the Hindu classes. They are very numerous in each district, and receive aid of one-third of their expenditure from Government. Another one-third is generally received from municipal funds or subscriptions, and the pupils pay only one-third as fees. We consider that for Government to aid these schools and to allow Municipalities to do so, is an act of great injustice. What right at all have the *classes* to be so helped at the public expense? Then there is the primary education grant. Here again the classes, though numerically a small proportion, get the lion's share. They form perhaps 1-20th part of the people, yet even of the primary grant, something like a half is spent on them, if not more. In Jessore, there are 821 patshalas, of which 581 have Hindu and 210 have Mahomedan teachers. The latter earned a fair share of rewards as compared with their Hindu brethren, but while Rs. 8,908 are paid as fixed stipends to Hindu gurus, only Rs. 318 were so paid to Mahomedans. This suggests a discrimination against the Mahomedans. Fixed stipends are much more desired than rewards by the payment-by-result system. But Hindu officers have the sole control of these things, and they naturally select men of good Caste to enjoy the best posts. As I have pointed out, all the educational staff is Hindu.

There were 12 primary scholarships awarded last year in the Jesore district: 9 went to Hindu caste boys, 2 to non-caste boys, 1 to a Mahomedan; and that in a district where 3-5ths of the population are Mussulman. In other districts we are sure the facts are just as bad, for the primary grant is now chiefly disbursed under the payment-by-result system; and naturally under it the children of the quickwitted intellectual classes draw most of the money. The guru who sets up a school in a Mussulman or low-caste village, earns hardly any reward; and is carefully not given a stipend, and thus the unexpected result has been, to spend most of the primary grant on Hindu

caste boys, and to call this mass education.

Another evil of this monopoly of public office by the Hindus is that it is affecting the tenure of land. It is very difficult to retain a small interest in land, unless the holder can draw wages from service. The latter not only adds pecuniary means: but what is perhaps more important, he is thus secured a patron, if in private service, or given official influence, if in public employ. As of late years the descendants of all the old Mahomedan servants of Government have been denied employment, they have been completely impoverished, and have had to part with their landed property. Then there are the illicit as as the lawful gains of public servants. All these have been lost to the Mahomedan community.

Then it will be asked, if our system of education is thus destroying, or anyhow, not tending to form character or individualism in the classes, if it turns out young men crammed with unfructifying knowledge, who never contribute in any way to the prosperity of the country, but who, after supplying the administrative machinery of Government and a fairly good professional class, merely live on the masses; if this is so, what should be done? Our answer is, first determine what you wish education to do. If the object is to enable a large privileged class to monopolise all the directive departments of life, and to keep the nation socially as far as possible in statu quo, and to merely introduce the arts and sciences as they are discovered elsewhere, then the present system is an admirable one. Thought and invention are dead, and they will remain so. Except for the scientific discoveries introduced by us, and their mechanical effects, Bengal of to-day differs little from that of Warren Hastings' time. The experimental and inductive sciences of the West, which have created the whole of the present material civilisation, are only exotics: they have found no home, for thought has never been liberated. The classes by their solidarity move all together, or do not move at all; and the individual mind does not exist.

There is order it is true, and stability: but certainly as regards Native society none of the "Moloch of progress" which Mr. Cotton is so afraid of. In love with order, he therefore champions the cause of Caste, and suggests ruling India through the present caste aristocracy, in direct opposition to the liberalism which proclaims that progress depends on individualism. He thinks the present caste and landlord system are pre-eminently the best social condition India can aspire to. But when he says that Bengal with its permanent settlement is the part of India least liable to famine, he forgets Behar and what poverty, landlordism, and Caste have brought on that province. He forgets also Orissa; also that Eastern Bengal, where there is least caste, and least landlordism, is

the most prosperous part of the Presidency.

In answering the question then, we should say, that till Caste amongst the upper classes is overthrown, and the individual emerges, till new ground is broken, and a new start made, nothing good will be produced. The present system is strictly one worked for a privileged order and is essentially vicious. The caste people want to be educated, but if it were left to private means, the rich and the industrious only would educate their sons, and this is individualism, which is Caste's sworn enemy. So the State has been persuaded into virtually guaranteeing an education to all caste aspirants, and in spite of every precaution, even funds for primary education are

very largely diverted to this use. Henceforth let the State rigidly refuse to allow any money raised by taxation to be devoted to secondary education, with the following exceptions: (1) to establish universities and examining bodies; (2) to grant scholarships in order that talent may be discovered and brought forward. The teaching of slipshod English to the classes en masse should be discouraged. If the department worked on these lines, much pecuniary help would be withdrawn from the education of the classes who largely benefit indirectly from State patronage At present every Englishteaching school is visited by Commissioners and Collectors, and laudatory remarks are made in the visitors' book. All this brings grist to the mill, for it helps to induce zemindars and even traders to subscribe heavily. In fact, official pressure is often brought to bear on them to do so. But Government should most carefully abstain from in any way fostering the idea that the support of English schools is a meritorious act. All such aid should be diverted to vernacular ones. The writer was lately much interested by a visit from a fine old Hindu gentleman, who showed him a printed list of his public benefactions, for which he had received the title of Rai Bahadur. It is hardly necessary to say that many of them were to found English schools, though he himself only knew his own vernacular. Some how this is one of the readiest roads to public honours. Let Government make it clearly understood, that it does not esteem so highly the spread of English education, as being rather a useless commodity, and the charitable public will soon find another channel for its favours.

But perhaps one of the greatest causes of the eager pursuit of a superficial English education is the system of officering public departments in the ministerial grades. Though many years ago there was a fair number of Mahomedans in them, they have now been nearly all pushed out. The tendency is for the establishments to grow larger and larger, and they are managed on a kind of family-party system. The Hindu joint family has always a number of members wanting employ, who yet can work without remuneration, if need be, for years. Unpaid Hindu apprentices are therefore always forthcoming, and when vacancies occur they naturally are selected. This, and the solidarity of Hindu society as compared with Mahomedan, much more than any refusal to accept education, has driven the candidate of the latter race out of the field. He is now always an outsider, and even if a Collector appoints him, the Commissioner, on appeal, will rule that his rivals have greater claims. Our great establishments therefore are now nearly entirely Hindu, and do whatever we can, Native methods and ideas prevail in their working: and the most pernicious one, and apiece with the

whole system of Caste is, that pay and responsibility shall have little relation to one another. For instance, the clerk who is a mere copyist, and the one who manages all the records and processes of a Court, are paid on the same scale. In fact, the first, if he copies English, may get a higher salary. Then the number of clerks, those with important and those with mere clerical work, being inextricably mixed up together, is so immense, that all selection by heads of the office is nigh impossible. Consequently, district officers have to put themselves almost completely in the hands of their subordinates. If the departments were braced up, and individual merit allowed to emerge, and duly rewarded by high pay, they could be managed more efficiently on a much smaller staff. But Hindu conservative thought is against any such reforms. It would tend to introduce individualism, and Caste would be in danger.

Let us now recapitulate. India, in the production of wealth, is proceeding very slowly, which is an undeniable fact. There is every reason to believe that the wealth-making power of a nation depends on the individualism of its members. India is essentially Hindu, and the essence of Hinduism is, that the human mind under its influence, cannot exercise itself on facts whether of a physical or moral nature. Original thought is altogether foreign to it. Hence, experimental science or induction is impossible; and since its deductive principles are used up, there can be no progress from within. But there will be no freedom of the individual, till the power of Caste is broken, which power now prevails owing to the force of social customs, and to the great intellectual capacity of the Hindu classes. The only justifiably end of our administration of the country is to increase its wealth by expanding its resources, and by giving the people such liberty of action and thought as is consistent with order. While, therefore, we are debarred from interfering with religion or customs, though they may retard the objects we have in view, we at the same time should be careful we do not unjustly favour and strengthen them. But by educating the Hindu classes more or less out of taxation, we are helping them to maintain their position and to grasp more power. Rather, we should let natural forces disintegrate and weaken them. Also, we are bound by our position to see, that provided the State is not endangered, each section of the community has a fair share of public employment and of the power and influence which flow therefrom. The Hindus are certainly entitled to possess most of the posts under Government, but where by their peculiar social habits, they can monopolise nearly every thing, as they have done in Lower Bengal, it is right and proper that the paramount power should interfere. They have here gained possession of some 9-10ths

or more of all places of emolument, even amongst populations chiefly Mahomedan; and it will be hard to keep their hands off the remaining tenth, unless new principles of distribution are recognised. The pressure brought to bear even on European officers by the Hindu ranks, is so strong and persistent, as to be irresistible. Government has held out no encouragement to resist it, and some will be found to argue that its action has of late distinctly discouraged resistance. The Mahomedans, in spite of being individually much stronger men, have to fight singly. Their Hindu rivals, without any preconceived design, but merely owing to their peculiar social and mental habits, all work together. Hence the former go to the wall; and thus a good and necessary element in the political fabric is falling out, or rather has fallen out. It is good, because it has so much of individualism or character, and it is necessary, because the Mahomedans represent much of the masculine vigour of the country.

High education does not at all tend to free the Hindu mind, therefore the State should not artifically stimulate it. It may be safely assumed that Railways and the Post-office have done more good in this direction than all the high education, and it is to such means, and to the spread of the results of physical science, that the enlightenment of the Natives must be

left.

The introduction of Local Self-goverment is certainly a move in the right direction, but it is to be feared that it will intensify Hindu predominance, and that Government servants will be helpless to oppose it. Many will "hinduize," as being the pleasanter and easier part to play, or because Hinduism has thrown its glamour over them. Hindu society, through the wealth of its leaders, and the keen criticism of its press, has assumed a strong political influence, which undoubtedly affects the policy of Government; and few of its officers can be expected to do otherwise than swim with the stream, when Government finds the current so strong. Curiously every officer of standing seems opposed to the present system of education; and yet for some mysterious reason no change of policy is ever inaugurated. So with regard to the extended employment of Mahomedans: some feeble efforts have been from time to time put forth, but practically they have relaxed before Hindu persistence: and we insist that nothing but the most distinct order, assigning a certain share of public appointments to Mahomedans, will have any effect at all. Till the Hindus know that keeping out one particular Mahomedan, will not bring in one of themselves, Mahomedans will either be prevented from gaining admission, or will find it impossible to work amongst a hostile and intriguing society. Certainly, in districts where more than half the population is Mahomedan, one-quarter of the appointments should be reserved for them, or say one-

eighth: at present it is often one-twentieth.

We cannot close without some general remarks on Hinduism: and we believe that nothing said or done against it in the abstract provokes the least ill-will from its adherents: as praise elicits no gratitude. If one praises or blames Mahomedanism, love or hatred may be earned, for like Christianity, it has its prophets and saints who have adorned its teachings. If you abuse them, accuse them of immorality for instance, you slander the holy religion of Islam, and you are a cursed infidel. But Hinduism is confessedly merely worship of beings in our own likeness, and with similar passions: or, it is pure human philosophy, Intellectually you may argue against it. The Hindu will argue with you and not be offended. You may even laugh at its eccentric monstrosities, for instance a blue baby, with an elephant's head and trunk, in its fond mother's arms, and he will be amused with you: the whole religion is so intensely human, and assumes no righteousness outside of man. It knows no morality except what the intellect teaches, and it glorifies every human passion. You cannot offend such a religion. On the other hand you cannot oppose it except with a divine revelation. The result therefore is, that all Europeans who have ceased to believe in the divine revelation and the righteousness of God, are much drawn to it. It is so rational—it has omniscience for sages; and it is so liberal—it is friendly towards all other religions. Its philosophy is so captivating,-it has its head in the heavens; it is so accommodating to human vice,—its feet go down to hell. Hinduism here in India is all around us, it is in the air, and the only protection against its insidiousness and attractive teaching, is monetheism or strong race instincts exciting prejudices against it. There is certainly much Hinduism amongst the Mahomedans, where their zeal has yielded to the seduction of the pantheism and the nature worship, which the Hindus display around them. In our opinion all such decline is injurious to the welfare of the State, as the Mahomedan element is a valuable one, and its secession to Hinduism in any degree is to be regretted. The fewness of intellectual leaders is one cause of the decay of the Mahomedan religion, and this has been greatly brought about by the denial of State patronage. Every Mahomedan Government official is more or less a religious teacher from his high social position. Our policy, therefore, of giving all public offices to the Hindus, has helped on the decline of the Mahomedan religion. Some years ago this might have been considered a good and necessary policy: but now, with other dangers a head, that policy should be reversed. Such a change would not only raise Mahomedanism,

but it would help to protect Bengal from the rising flood of Hinduism which threatens our administration. It must be remembered that there is an order of decay, as well as are order of growth and progress. The order of Hinduism is essentially of the first kind, and just as decay steals imperceptibly over the living organism, so does Hinduism work in destroying human energy. There cannot be energizing power in it, but only a deadening one. As surely as we allow Hinduism to assume the control, so surely are we arresting progress and forsaking our mission in India. educated classes are as Hindu, that is, as opposed to all freedom of the human mind and to all progress, as their forefathers, who though they knew no English had equally well cultivated intellects. The unorthodox amongst them are merely eccentric, very often owing to personal immorality, and by an irresistible attraction, they or their children must return to the Hindu orbit. Let us not, therefore, for one moment imagine that the time is drawing nigh, when we can hand over all rule and government to these educated classes. We must, in face of their keen criticism, lay aside more completely acts of selfishness and jobbery. They can assist us, and we can learn much on their counsel: but the day that we cease to control the internal policy of the country, and the Hindu classes assume the role of masters, that day will begin the era of New India's rapid decline.

F. H. BARROW, C. S.

P. S.—The above was written long before the Madras College disturbances, and that occurence strengthens our argument, that the educated Hindu is as strong in his religious belief as the uneducated one. This, of course, reflects no discredit on him. It however explains his intellectual and moral attitude, and shatters the hopes of educationists and Missionaries, who think that Hindus can be educated out of their religion. In fact, it is very questionable, whether eclectic Hinduism is not rather imbibed by teachers who are not active Missionaries, than Christianity is by the taught. We need hardly add that proselytism, especially amongst the young, is the surest way of damaging the cause of Christianity: and we much doubt if teaching secular knowledge, with the avowed object of influencing the scholars towards Christianity, can be defended.

May 1888.

ART. III.—ON THE STUDY OF INDIAN HISTORY.

I T is well-known that history is a theme which was almost entirely neglected by the ancient Hindus. Why this was so I have never been able fully to understand. It is to me a still unsolved problem. The explanations of the fact which have been attempted by Lassen and others, all appear to be

inadequate.

It has been said—happy is the country which has no annals. But I fear it cannot be maintained that it was the happy lives led by the Indians of old which prevented them from having works on history. The statements of foreign writers, and the allusions in Sanscrit poetry, &c., prove that India has always had its full share of wars and catastrophes, whether natural or artificial. We know that there was great fighting between the Aryan invaders from the North-West and the aborigines of India; that the campaigns of Alexander and his successors inflicted many calamities on the country; that Buddhism was not put down without violence, and that the wars between the Sivaites and the Vishnavites, and between the Hindus and the Mahomedans, were long and bloody. There was then ample scope for historical narrative, and the question recurs—Why was there no Hindu historian? Why have we no Indian writer who can be put into comparison with Herodotus and Thucydides, Livy and Tacitus? We have in the Ramayan and Mahabharat the analogues of the Homeric poems, and we have in Kalidas and others, poets resembling in some measure the Greek dramatists, but of historical writings we have scarcely any. The only known exceptions to this general dearth are two works coming from opposite ends of India,—the Mahavanso of Ceylon, and the Rajatarangini of Kashmir. These two, also, are hardly entitled to be called works of history, for they are full of fables. The Rajatarangini for instance assigns a lifetime of three hundred years to one of the comparatively modern kings of Kashmir! The Mahavanso is described by Lassen as being the more valuable work of the two, and it was written by a Buddhist, and one who was not an inhabitant of the continent of India. The Rajatarangini appears to have been written by a Brahman, and is the only historical work which we owe to that great caste. The two books, also, are relatively modern, for they were written many centuries after Herodotus and Thucydides had composed their histories. They both belong to a period after the birth of Christ, the Mahavanso belonging to the 3rd or 4th century, and the Rajatarangini to so late a period as the 12th century,

that is, long after the Mahomedan conquest.

It will not be readily admitted that the absence of Hindu histories was due to a want of intellect or of civilization in the people of India, and I do not think that this can be the true explanation. The men who composed epic poems and philosophies, and who drew up the code of Manu, were fully competent, so far as intellect went, to write historical annals. Neither do I think that the want can be due to the indifference of Hindu kings to posthumous fame. The great works which they executed show that this was not the case. They dug vast reservoirs, erected towers of victory, and recorded inscriptions. The simplest explanation and perhaps the truest is, that there were histories, but that they have been lost. We know that manuscripts are peculiarly exposed to dangers in India; wars, revolutions, floods, fires have been preeminently destructive there, and I suppose that there is no country where white ants and other insects are so destructive.

The author of the Tabakát Nasiri, who is one of our earliest Mahomedan historians, tells a grim story which may account in some measure for the loss of Indian annals. When Bihar, the old capital apparently of the Hindu kingdom of Magadha, was stormed by Bakhtiar Khilji at the end of the 12th century, it was chiefly inhabited by brahmans, and a great number of books were found among the plunder. After the victory, the conquerors sent for Hindus to explain these books, but it was too late, all the Hindus had already been put to the sword. What became of the books we are not told, but it is not likely

that they would be preserved.

After all, it is only a very few of the histories written by Greeks or Romans which have been preserved. We have not the histories of Hecateus and others, we have only, alas, a few extracts from the work of Megasthenes the ambassador at Palibothra or Patna, and we have hardly any of the great number of histories referred to by Livy in the preface to his book. Livy begins his work by referring to those new writers who are continually coming forward with compositions, in the idea that they will be able to surpass their predecessors either in style, or the greater certainty of their facts, and says, that if in so great a crowd of writers—tanta scriptorum turba—his own fame remain obscure, he can console himself with the splendour of those who have overshadowed him. This crowd of writers no longer exists. What has become of them? What, too, has become of much of Livy's own history, of those lost decades over which scholars have so much grieved. They have long ago sunk beneath the waves of time. It is only the writings of one or two of the historians of Greece or Rome which

have been preserved—a distinction which they probably owed to their almost infinite superiority to other writers. Nothing, perhaps, strikes one more in reading modern histories of Greece or Rome, than the paucity of their materials. If one has read Thucydides, he finds that Grote or Thirlwall has scarcely anything to tell him that is new about the Peloponesian war, and the history of several of the Roman Emperors is little more than an abstract of Tacitus.

In several cases it has only been by some happy accident that valuable Greek or Roman books have been preserved. Many of Aristotle's works were saved to posterity by their having been buried under ground for about a century and a half at Skepsis in Asia Minor. It was only in 1816 that Niebuhr discovered, in the library of the cathedral chapter at Verona, the M.S. of the Institutes of Gaius, which have thrown so much light on the history of Roman law. In that case the manuscript had been preserved owing to its having been twice covered with other writings. The Institutes were the lowest layer; over this there was another writing, and finally over this second writing or palimpsest, there was a work by St. Jerome.

If some such happy chance had occurred in India, or if there had been a Niebuhr and a Savigny there, we might have recovered some long lost book of Indian history. Possibly the happy chance is still available, and the researches of inquirers like Dr. Mitra, or Babu Sarat Chandra Das may yet be rewarded, and the words of the poet verified:

"The many fail, the one succeeds."

I am not sanguine of this, however, and I admit that it may be said with truth, that all the disasters I have enumerated have not prevented the preservation of numerous Indian works on religion and philosophy and belles lettres, and that we should expect them also not to have prevented the preservation of some historical works. This remark cannot be gainsaid, so that the explanation which I have offered of the want of historical books, only pushes the difficulty one step backward. We cannot doubt, I think, that if the old Hindus had written as many histories as they have written philosophies, and if the histories had been well written and appreciated, some would have survived. We cannot, therefore, acquit the old Hindus of negligence in this matter. Either histories were not written, or they were of little worth, and little prized. We must, I think, hold, that Hindu India was unable to produce a Herodotus or a Thucydides, a Livy or a Tacitus, or even an Abul Fazl and a Nizamuddin.

This subject has been discussed by Lassen with his usual learning and good sense. He points out that a philosophical history could not be expected from the brahmans, and that

they were indifferent to the actions of earthly kings. To the brahmans, he says, the history of the gods was much more important than that of human beings. This led them to regard the wonderful and unreal as real and natural, and so darkened the distinction between them, as to weaken their feeling for historical truth. Hence it is, I suppose, that though we have immense compositions like the Harivansa or the Vishnu Purana, we have no historical works. The Harivansa has been translated into French by M. Langlois. I have tried to read the two large quartos, but I have not been able to find a fact or an idea of value in them. Another reason given by Lassen for the want of Indian histories, is the institution of caste. He points out that this prevented the composition of any universal or national history. There could be no consciousness, he says, of fatherland among the Indian Aryans, because to every caste, the caste took the place of fatherland.

That this had to do with the want of histories among the Hindoos may, I think, be inferred from the fact, that so soon as a religion arose which did not recognise caste, for example, the Buddhist religion, histories began to be written. Thus, then, we have the institution of caste responsible for at least one

great evil,-the want of a national spirit.

I know that it is fashionable now-a-days to eulogise caste, and my friend Mr. Cotton has, in his deservedly popular work "New India," quoted a long extract from Comte to show the advantages of the system. But Comte is by no means a thorough admirer of caste. On the contrary, he goes on to say immediately after the passage I have referred to, "Notwithstanding all these qualities, the theocratic system could not but be hostile to progress through its excessive stability, which stiffened into an obstinate immovableness when new expansions required a change of social classification. The supreme class appropriated all its immense resources of every kind to the preservation of its almost absolute dominion, after it had lost, by long enjoyment of power, the chief stimulus to its own progression. At first sight, the political system looks well, in its aspect of a reign of mind; though it was rather a reign of fear, resting, as it did, on the use of superstitious terrors, and the spells offered by the possession of the earliest physical knowledge; but we must frankly admit on consideration, that the political rule of intelligence is hostile to human progression." However, it is hardly necessary to denounce caste, or to make invidious remarks about it, for I think that all must admit that the system, whether it is good or evil, is doomed to extinction, and that in spite of all the efforts of reactionists it is much more decayed in 1888 than it was fifty or even twenty years ago.

The deficiency of India in historical literature having perforce

to be acknowledged, attempts have been made to minimise the disaster. This is always the way in controversy, or when a fact proves disagreeable. First, the fact is denied, and then when this can no longer be done, recourse is had to what lawyers call—a plea in confession and avoidance. That is, the fact is admitted, but with the addition of the words "and it don't signify." Professor Max Müller has somewhere taken up this view, and maintained that Indian writers were employed on far higher themes than the composition of chronicles, and that the world has not lost anything by the absence of such records. Now I cannot think that this kind of defence does any good. It is far better for nations, as well as individuals, to make a clean breast of it when they have committed a blunder or an omission.

"Nations," says John Stuart Mill, "like individuals, ought to suspect some fault in themselves when they find they are generally worse thought of than they think they deserve; and they may well know that they are somehow in fault, when almost every body but themselves thinks them deficient in

some respect."

Max Müller's defence reminds one of another possibly well meant, but I think very foolish, attempt of a writer in the Amrita Bazar Patrika, to make out that it was the greatness of the Indian intellect which led to the ancient Rishis and others neglecting psychology and physical science, and concentrating their attention on such high and transcendental problems as those of ontology and the origin of evil. The writer spoke of those great men as regarding mere mundane sciences as child's play. As if it was not precisely in the infancy of human intellect and knowledge, that great and insoluble problems are attempted to be grappled with! It is only after long and painful endeavours that men come, like the elder Mill, to the conclusion, that nothing can be known about the origin of things, and take to positive philosophy.

Some one speaking disparagingly of historical facts has asked, why should a list of kings and queens be more interesting or instructive than a list of the winners of the Derby or of

some other horse race.

I think that the answer to this is a very simple one, namely, that we are men and not horses. We don't, the most of us, that is to say, find any interest in a Turf chronicle, because it tells us little or nothing that we want to know. But in a country which was ruled by horses, in Swift's country of the Houyhnhnms in short, one could conceive a list of Derby winners being greatly prized, and of important deductions being drawn from it by philosophic horses. I do not admire at all what has been called a drum-and-trumpet history; that

is, a record of the doings of kings and accounts of battles, but I cannot overlook the fact that most valuable information is often to be drawn from mere lists of kings. In itself the record may be little worth, but antiquarians and philologists can make the dead bones live, and draw many valuable conclusions from the baldest chronicle. Who, for instance, can fail to have a thrill of pleasurable excitement at hearing that the names of Greek kings occur in the inscriptions of Asoka?

It is the information which they incidentally give, that makes inscriptions and coins invaluable, and it is therefore with great pleasure that one sees so many strenuous efforts being made to collect and decipher ancient inscriptions, &c. Much yet remains to be done in this field, and it is a work in which almost every one can help. Every district of Bengal has some monument or other, and there must be many where sasanums, or copper-plate inscriptions, are found on digging tanks, &c.

It has been said that the great object of science is to give the power of prediction—what man seeks from science is the gift of foresight. He knows that forewarned is forearmed, and he believes that history, i.e., the account of the development of his race, and of the phases though which it has passed, will give him the power of prevision, by enabling him to conjecture at least what the future will be, and what steps he should take to avoid evil and find good. Unless history can give him this, its importance is gone. It will not lose its interest, for we are men, and everything that relates to men stirs our blood and re-awakens in us the primal sympathies. We cannot, for example, help being interested in such questions as those of the guilt of Mary Queen of Scots, the truth of the story of the Wigtomn Martyrs, the fate of Sultan Sujah and his family, or the end of Nana Sahib, though we know that their solution will not help us in the conduct of our lives.

But still, unless history enable us to foretell the future, it

will cease to be a practically useful study.

In all times men have most desired to know the future, and it is a natural and healthy craving. Formerly, he hoped to succeed by studying the stars, or the entrails of animals, or by consulting wizards and witches. Now that those resources have failed him, and now that he has almost ceased to expect a divine revelation, he turns to the study of the past, and hopes to find the secret there. History is the great means for prosecuting the study of what Mill calls Ethology, i.e., the science of character.

Wordsworth has told us that the child is father to the man, but the child is himself the heir of all the ages, and we cannot adequately know him or the man into whom he develops, unless we carry the study further back, and discover what were the characteristics of his remote ancestors. So also with a nation. We cannot know the character of a nation, understand its capabilities, or conjecture its future course, unless we dive into its history. Take, for example, the Bengali. We cannot really know him, unless, in addition to studying him as he now is, we inquire into how he came to be what he now is. What races is he composed of, what part has he played in former centuries? There is a great stir now-a-days about nationality. We have national congresses, and national songs. It seems to me, however, that nothing really solid can be effected in this way until the Bengali and the other races of

India, make a profound study of their past.

Macaulay quotes with emphatic approval the saying of Swift, that "it is an uncontrolled truth, that no man ever made an ill figure who understood his own talents, nor a good one, who mistook them." And I think that what is true of individuals must also be true of nations. Nations must know what part they are fitted to play in the history of the world, if they are to do anything great. It may be that it is somewhat late in the day for the establishment of nationalities. It may be that there is a nobler aspiration than that of exalting one race or one province of the world. Patriotism is after all a somewhat rudimentary virtue and often gives harmful results. Who, for instance, cannot but regret that Shakespeare, the myriad-minded man, should have been led by patriotic prejudices into the mistake of besmirching the fair fame of Joan of Arc?

Patriotism may lead to the result deplored by the poet when

"Envy wears the mask of Love, and laughing sober fact to scorn, Cries to Weakest as to Strongest, 'Yé are equals, equal born."

Such matters, however, are too high for us, and far be it from me to blame those who are striving to unify the peoples of India. I would only, in all friendliness, counsel them to study the past history of their country, in order that they may direct their efforts the better, and may know what India is likely to become. Much time has been lost. Many valuable records have disappeared, but there is still opportunity for doing much. I rejoice to think that the lamp of research, which was lighted more than a hundred years ago by Sir William Jones, is still burning, and that his Asiatic Society continues to do good work. One of Sir William Jones' greatest achievements was the discovery of the identity of the Sandracottus or Sandrakoptus of the Greeks, with the Chandrgupta of the Indians. This was, indeed, a welcome nugget. It was almost like the discovery of the identity between Sanskrit and Greek and Latin, which the philosopher Hegel described as resembling Columbus's discovery of the New World. Sir William Jones must have felt on the occasion something of the joy which Keats describes as felt by the astronomer when

a new planet swims into his ken.

Among Sir William Jones's followers none have done more for Indian history than the late Professor Blochmann, whose lamented and premature death has left such a gap in the small band of historical students. It is pleasant to be able to record that the natives of India no longer neglect the study of history. venerable Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra has devoted a lifetime to historical and philological inquiries, and it was another Bengali, Babu Rajkrishna Mukarjya, who discovered that the Luchman Sen era is still current in Tirhut. One of our most promising native students of history is Babu Rajanikantha Gupta. He has shown a critical faculty, and much industry in his history of the sepoy mutiny. I cannot say that I can adopt all his views. I think that he is often unjust to the English, but I dare say that he has been led to this by a natural recoil from the optimism and verbosity of Sir John Kaye. Other inquirers are in the field, and we may fairly hope that they will some day soon obtain valuable results.

The great thing we want now is the collection of materials. It is not time yet for a great historical work. Fine writing, and decided views, are as yet out of place in dealing with Indian history. It has been said that railways cannot be made to pay unless feeders, i. e., roads are made in connection with them. Similarly we may say, that general histories of India cannot be satisfactorily made, until we have many local histories, and many

monographs on isolated points.

Let all who can take part in this honourable work of collection of materials, and indeed, every one of us can add his stone to the cairn. Those who cannot make researches themselves, can, at least, smooth the path for those who can. All, for example, could help in removing the stigma which Calcutta lies under from it—the third city in the British Empire, and the undoubted capital of India not possessing a public library. We have, indeed, the so-called Calcutta Public Library. It possesses a noble building, or at least half of a noble building, and it has many valuable historical books, but they are not catalogued, and are fast falling into decay.*

H. BEVERIDGE.

^{*} Professor Blochmann, in his valuable article in this Review on the death of the Emperor Jahangir, regrets that he has not been able to find the travels of the Holstein ambassadors by Olearius. He says the book is in the catalogue of the Public Library, but like many other books, it is not to be found. The book, however, is still in the Library, and may be seen by any one who will grope sufficiently for it. This incident shows how much the books want re-arranging.

ART. IV.—THE MAKING OF INDIA.

Aut reditor nobis Aurora diemque reducit,-Virgil.

HE project of submitting the entire administration of British India to a national scrutiny has commended itself to two Governments which were hardly at one upon any other subject. Nor can it be said that such an inquest, if it were only conducted on the spot with due judgment, would be at all premature. In the old days the Company's Charter came up for renewal every twenty years; and before it was renewed there was always such enquiry as the machinery of the time permitted. Now that the close and constant inspection of experts like the Court of Directors has been replaced by the almost nominal assessorship of the India Office Council; now that the Secretary of State has held almost unlimited control for nearly a whole generation, it is surely time that a fresh review took place, and that it were one of the most searching and impartial kind. It is desirable, moreover, that one of the chief issues to be framed for that review should be this—

What is the object which justifies the retention of an Empire so onerous to one people, so humiliating to the other; has that object been put in course of attainment; and, after it has been

attained, what will be England's next duty?

England's possession of India has, doubtless, added greatly to the welfare of the present generation of Indians, at the same time that it has enhanced our own natural prestige, and that

accumulated egotism which is called national glory.

The little Celtiberian island in the North Sea, which was first made a nation by the invasion and settlement of colonists from the banks of the Elbe and the Seine, has become in her turn a fruitful mother of nations. Among all her doings in this kind, none has been so wonderful as this, that she should have made a nation in the vast Asian Peninsula. And as in all great actions, the law must ultimately be Sic vos non vobis. There is no permanent advantage to be obtained by Britain from the maintenance of British power in India. The climate is hostile to the healthy labour of Englishmen. They cannot work in her fields, now parched by torrid blasts, now sunk in poisonous damps. They cannot breed in India, they can hardly maintain their moral and intellectual life for their own generation. Her tribute is but fairy money to Britain, her markets are of no more value than would be those of treaty ports such as we have in China, provided only that there were a settled Government behind them. Yet Englishmen have been employed in India for service to God and man. As Augustus found Rome brick and left it marble, so Britain has found India anarchy and must leave it order. The object is a grand object, and the way of its attainment is pointed out

by history.

The first step in the creation of a united Indian people was taken by the Great Turkman Emperor Akbar. But it was the misfortune of that extraordinary man that he was far in advance of the institutions of his time. His greatest contemporary, Queen Elizabeth, undertook a similar work in Europe, and made the same mistake as he. Both these great sovereigns overrated the power of an individual to mould the destinies of a country: and each outlived the movement and died amidst a considerable group of depressing surroundings. Nevertheless, the English ruler's system was more sucsessful than that of her Eastern brother. The old Parliamentary institutions of the Plantagenets, though weakened by the arbitrary action of Elizabeth, were still alive: they recovered under the Stuarts; Cromwell, though avowedly an imitator of Elizabeth, and passing his short term of power in constant quarrels with his subjects and their representatives, could not quench the spirit of freedom: and the subsequent expulsion of James and, later, the Act of Settlement, completely abolished every serious obstacle to political progress. With India the difference was entire. Akbar's son, Jahángir, neglected the reforms of his father, and there was no organised force to keep them in operation. With Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, or Alamgir I—as he is styled by native historians—centralisation went on, crushing all free thought and action, and substituting a weight of cold administrative machinery which ended in the opposite process to national integration. It was not England that destroyed the Mughol Empire, but its own inherent informity.

I.

The dawn of British influnce rose upon an India that was still under the apparent power of this Turko-Persian dynasty. The men who had given their name to that power, had been originally a race of blond foreigners from Central Asia, uniting the strong sap of the Tartars to the relatively high civilisation of mediaeval Irán. In the beginning of the eighteenth century. a soldier statesman of the house passed away, leaving his power menaced, indeed, and mined, but still standing. Alamgir, the Emperor of Hindustan and Conqueror of the Deccan, at his death in 1707, left a territory of twenty sub-kingdoms, or satrapies, an army of vast numbers, a yearly revenue of something like thirty millions of pounds sterling.

His son and successor, Bahádur Sháh, was a prudent, experienced, and virtuous veteran, not unequal to the great charge. But, such had been the great duration of his father's life and reign, Bahádur could not live long enough to relieve the empire from all the dangers to which it was exposed, or to form a system of permanent administration. After a short interval of misgovernment and civil war, the throne devolved upon a frivolous debauchee, entitled by ironical courtesy, Farokh Siyar (" Noble-Ways"). This was in 1713, at which time the eastern provinces were in the charge of a Lieutenant-Governor, or Náwab, named Jáfar, the son of a convert from Hinduism. who bore the title of Murshid Kuli Khán. The character of this official was harsh, and his administration was oppressive. Among those who suffered were some foreign traders; white men who died fast, but were periodically recruited from ships which came from a far country; and who, by connivance and purchased indulgence, had succeeded in establishing factories in the swampy delta of the Hughli, about one hundred miles above the mouths of that river. They were the servants of the Company formed in London for the purpose of trading in the East. In its then state the Company had existed for about twenty years; and its business consisted in sending out bullion, lead, quicksilver, woollens, hardware and other European products, receiving in return diamonds, porcelain, muslins, calicoes, silks, and the various vegetable delicacies of the East, tea, and drugs and spices. For the purposes of this trade, the Company had obtained in England a monopoly by royal charter; they had established factories on, or near the seacoast at various points, and one of these was in the situation just indicated, where the great city of Calcutta now stands: Job Charnock having first chosen the site in 1686. In 1700 three villages lying contiguous had been granted to the Company by Alamgir—who thus became the founder of the Presidency of Bengal and of all which followed. By the time of the Emperor Noble-Ways, Calcutta had already become a place of some importance, and the Governor Jáfar-otherwise Nawab Murshid Kuli Khán-had found his account in squeezing and plundering the factory there. Alarmed for their "investments" and for the favour of the Court of Directors at home, whose dividends were dependent upon them, the factory officials took the resolution of applying to the fountain-head. They approached the Durbar of the Emperor with a request to be permitted to send presents to the foot of the throne, accompanied by a petition of appeal against Jáfar's proceedings. The prayer being granted, in due course the Mission set out; it consisted of two civilians and a Surgeon named Hamilton, who reached Dehli on the 8th May 1715, O.S. Hospitality to

strangers was a tradition of the Imperial House; and the

three English gentlemen were kindly received.

The Prime-Minister of the Empire was one of the two king-making brothers of those days known to history as the Bárha Saiyids. His relations to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Eastern Districts can only be guessed by his conduct; it is certain that the Calcutta Mission found a constant opposition to their projects; however kindly they might be treated at the levées of the Emperor, their web, like Penalope's, was all to weave again next day. What was to be done? The time was wearing away; the investments were dwindling; the poor gentlemen were almost at their wits end.

But the revolving day was bringing of its own accord what they had well-nigh ceased to pray for. As a result of a successful inroad into Rájputána, the Saiyids had obtained a daughter of one of the great houses of the Hindus, Ajit Singh, Rája of Jodhpur, as a bride for the Emperor. The young Princess was duly brought to Dehli, but an unforeseen obstacle arose: the Emperor's health proved to be in such a condition that the nuptial rites could not be consummated. The Minister was in despair: he had formidable rivals: his brother was away in the south: every thing seemed to depend upon the Rajput alliance, which would be dissolved in a moment if Ajit Singh's daughter was to be dismissed unwedded.

Delhi's difficulty was Calcutta's opportunity. Hamilton undertook the Emperor's case; and soon effected a complete cure. The marriage was celebrated with due splendour, and the Minister's gratitude knew no bounds. But with a self-sacrifice and public spirit worthy of his calling, the Scottish Surgeon waived all question of fee to himself. Pressed to name his reward, he said, that if the prayer of the Mission granted, he would consider that he had an ample recompense. An oral acquiescence was easily obtained, though with the procrastination and venality that always characterise Turkish administrators, the Durbar interposed many a weary month before the ratification in writing. War broke out with the Sikhs; the Emperor moved towards the Punjab with a cumbrous expedition, and the English envoys were fain to follow him. Still the patent was not signed: no less than two years of time and unknown sums of money were lost in fruitless solicitations. At last a British squadron appeared off the coast of Gujarát; and its appearance gave the necessary stimulus to the proceedings. The patent was signed in 1717; and the envoys departed in gladness for Calcutta, bearing with them an order under the sign-manual, for the free passage of their merchandise, and the possession of both banks of

the river Hooghly for five miles on either side of the factory. Science and sea-force were the joint founders of the Empire

of Britain in Eastern Asia.

Armed with this patent, during the next forty years the British in Calcutta had to make such terms as they could with the local authorities in Bengal. The Empire of Hindustan had but little vitality at the heart, still less at the extremities. It went on slowly languishing, and lost member after member under the combined influences of provincial defection and foreign violence. The Persians and Afghans wasted the northern territories, the southern provinces became practically independent; the regions about the metropolis were full of civil war; and the beautiful marble palace itself was reddened with Royal blood. In such an anarchy the Lieutenancy of Bengal became a hereditary principality under a Turkman soldier of fortune, Allah Wirdi, who slew the last Imperial Governor, about 1745, and established a quasi-independent dynasty at Murshidábád.

In 1757 Suráj-ud-daola, grandson of Allah Wirdi, being routed by Clive at the Battle of Plassey, was put to death by his own General, Mir Jáfar. That officer was recognised as Prince in Bengal, and a new political situation arose in Calcutta. It was seven years before that situation was fully developed; in the eighth year the East India Company obtained its second and last Imperial firmán, though their no-

minee still held state at Murshidabad.

The Emperor of that day was a fugitive, driven from Dehli by the conduct of the Mughal Minister Gházi-ud-din, who had murdered his father, the last occupant of the Imperial throne. Driven to take refuge with the Viceroy of Oudh, who was titular Vazir of the Empire, the fallen Prince was in the Oudh camp when the Viceroy was defeated by Major Monro at the decisive battle of Buxar (23rd October 1764). Next day the wandering Emperor passed over to the British camp, and negotiations ensued which ended, some nine months after, in the issue of a patent whereby the Company obtained at last a legitimate political position. Their representatives in Calcutta were recognised by that instrument as fiscal administrators of the Eastern Provinces, with the farther grant of the Gházipur and Benares districts as fiefs of the Empire. On their part they agreed to pay the Emperor a "yearly offering" which raised his income to the nominal value of one million of our money. Mir Jáfar was to continue in charge of the branch of Government, which may be best described as the judicial and police administration. The Emperor, for the present, established his faded court at Allahabad.

The date of this settlement is 12th August 1765, and from

that day began the political history of the Anglo-Indian Empire. It must, however, be understood that there was henceforward no exact moment at which it could be said that a new position was perceived or a new departure deliberately taken. For nearly two years more the work of the Company continued to be principally commercial; and the labours of its European servants, down to at least 1774, were mainly confined to the extension of the Company's commerce and the not less urgent business of aggrandising themselves. Clive and Vansittart, the first Governors of Bengal, founded noble families in England; fearful scandals and convulsions marked the ambitious and unscrupulous efforts of the Anglo-Indian officials; the administration was neglected or prostituted, and it was not till the Home Government appeared upon the scene, that the beginning of better things became possible. In 1773, the Presidency of Bengal was made supreme, by virtue of an Act passed by the British Parliament; a Council arrived in the following year from England to assist the Governor-General; and towards the end of the year 1774, the ablest of Anglo-Indian statesmen became responsible to his country for the welfare, not only of the mercantile business of the Company, but of the long suffering indigenous population.

Warren Hastings was well acquainted with the wants of the country. Even before his appointment as Governor-General-in-Council under the Act of 1773, he had begun a system of reform which had procured him bitter animosity alike among the Anglo-Indian officials and among the Native

magnates who played into their hands.

It is well known what course the new Government first took. Inspired by one of the ablest of the subordinate Civilians, Mr. John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, and led by Junius of the biting pen, the Council thwarted Hastings in all his measures. But Calcutta at once became the seat of administration, the fountain of honour, the focus of intrigue. The leading Native statesmen were Muhamad Razakhán and Máharája Nand Kumár. The former was soon hopelessly set aside, and there was no one to take his part: the latter made a stronger fight and met with a still darker doom. The popular view is that Hastings did him to death in spite of the Council, by the instrumentality of the Chief Justice of the new Supreme Court, and in defiance of law and justice. Before adopting that unwelcome and humiliatting conclusion it would be well to weigh the following facts:—

Anterior to the Supreme Court (before which the trial ultimately occurred) there had been a Municipal tribunal in Calcutta, known as "The Mayor's Court;" and the documents, for the forgery of which the Maharaja was sentenced by the

Supreme Court, had been already impugned in a civil action and transferred to the keeping of that tribunal. In March 1774, the plaintiffs' attorney in the original suit had applied to the Mayor's Court to have these papers delivered to him for the presumed purpose of making them the subject of a criminal indictment. The application was not granted at the time. Presently, the Mayor's Court was abolished; the new Judges arrived from England in October of the same year (1774), and the same application was successfully renewed to them immediately after the Christmas holidays, 25th January 1775.

The papers were delivered in April.

Between these two dates Nand Kumár had sent into the Council (in which the majority was known to be hostile to Hastings) formal charges of corruption. The majority, in Hastings' absence, called upon him to refund a sum of money that he appeared to have received contrary to the existing regulation. Hastings refused. On the 6th of May, Nand Kumár was committed for trial by two of the judges, Hyde and Lemaistre, acting as Magistrates. No evidence has ever been recorded to show that these proceedings were undertaken on the instigation of Hastings. In due course the case came before the grand jury who found a true bill, and Nand Kumár came up for trial before a full bench of the four judges and an ordinary jury. With regard to the conduct of the trial, it is to be observed that Sir James Stephen, an English judge, with the advantage of a long Indian experience, declares that the Chief Justice shewed favour to the prisoner, and that the trial was eminently fair and impartial. The jury-many of whose proposed members had been successfully challenged on behalf of the accused—brought in a verdict of guilty; and Nand Kumár, as all men know, was hanged. The sentence of death was not unprecedented in Calcutta; but as to whether it ought to have been carried out, there will probably be two opinions. If Hastings did not know, or believe, that Nand Kumár was innocent, he was not bound to interfere. But as to the conduct of those actually in power, conflicting views, it may be assumed, will always be held. Undoubtedly the Máharája was the first person who had been so executed in India; but then some one must have been the first if that was the law. That it was the law, was the opinion of at least three of the bench of four judges. If it be still contended that the case was a proper one for mercy, the responsibility does not lie at the door of the Chief Justice, who could do nothing unless moved, and even if he had been moved, could only have given an opinion. It does not lie at the door of Hastings, who could not, at that moment, carry the smallest measure, and who could hardly be expected to

undertake a Quixotic struggle against the dominant opposition, on behalf of a man who represented a system he was striving to abolish, and of whom he had particular reasons for holding the worst possible opinion. The only persons who could have respited Nand Kumár, were the members of the majority in Council, who were all powerful. But they made no sign.

These details have been recalled because Warren Hastings is the central figure of the making of India, and Nand Kumár was, in reality, his main obstacle. With the death of the Máharájah disappeared the last vestige of active native authority in Bengal, and the last person who could permanently embarrass the work of the Governor-General. From the banks of the Máhanadi to the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges, the East of Hindustan became a British Province. The reign of law began to take the place of an anarchy under which society had been almost completely dissolved. Warren Hastings was

the greatest benefactor India ever had.

The eloquent denunciations of Burke and Sheridan have left upon the minds of Englishmen a somewhat confusing notion of these transactions; so that it is possible that this last sentence may give rise to some demur. Even in the able and earnest incidental justification of Warren Hastings which occurs in Erskine's celebrated defence of Stockdale, due attention is not paid to the enormous benefits of which the administration of Hastings was the necessary introduction. As against the Parliament of England, indeed, Erskine's plea was of complete forensic avail, 'If it be true' said the printer's counsel, 'that Mr. Hastings was directed to make the safety and prosperity of Bengal the first object of his attention, and thatunder his administration it has been safe and prosperous; ... then a question may be unaccountably mixed with your consideration much beyond the consequence of the present prosecution, involving perhaps the merit of the impeachment itself-a question which the Commons, as prosecutors of Mr. Hastings should in common prudence have avoided. It is mad and preposterous to bring to the standard of justice and humanity the exercise of a dominion founded upon violence and terror. At the bar of a Nisi Prius Court such an argument was effective: in the forum of History it goes too far. Hastings had subverted no native government, he was only guilty of substituting government for the absence of government; he made a beneficent revolution; but revolutions, even when beneficent, cannot be made without some use of violence, some production of terror.

II.

In the meantime the other Presidencies were slowly rising in to political existence, though not with an equal rate of

progress. Bombay, with its small extent of territory, continued to play a very subordinate part. In the navigation of those days it was farther from Europe than Calcutta. It yielded but a very small commerce and revenue. Lastly its military power was overshadowed by the great strength of the Mahratta confederacy. This parvenu league (of what were little better than brigand chiefs) having largely contributed to destroy the Muslim Empire of Hindustan, was now centered at Poona, only 74 miles from the British Factory: and the Poona Durbar could at any time surround and perhaps destroy Bombay.

But the condition of Madras was widely different. Before the events of 1757, Madras had borne all the brunt of the struggle, as well against the native powers as against the rivalry of France.* In the year of Plassey, Madras had restored the Calcutta Factory, all but completely destroyed by the Muslims, and had thereby founded the political power of what was to become the dominant presidency. But it was the work of years, heavy with misfortune, to teach Madras her new position. One of the constant aspirations of that presidency began, from the time of Warren Hastings, to be the assumption of political power in Southern India, coupled with a craving for pecuniary advantage to members of the governing body. In all this the Madras officials were imitating the example of Calcutta. The latter had (as we have seen) absorbed the native Nawab of the Eastern Provinces, and had extorted money from the Vazir-Viceroy of Oudh-while they had reduced the titular sovereign of the Mughal Empire to a condition of dependence. Why should not Madras absorb the native Nawab of Arcot (or the Carnatic) on whose dominions they squatted, and enrich themselves at the expense of the Chief of Mysore and the Mughal Ruler of the Deccan? There were two difficulties attendant on this programme. The French had a strong settlement on the Coromandel Coast, and an old connection with Deccan politics: that was the first. The second was still more serious; the English filibusters of Madras were a few years too late in their naughtiness. Bengal had sown her wild oats; the Governor-General had no mind to have her youthful indiscretions revived for the benefit of a subordinate presidency. The boldness, however, of some of the Madras men was worthy of a better cause.

Muhammad Ali, the Nawab of the Carnatic, was being eaten up by his European creditors,—a prototype of modern Egypt. In his distress he sought to add to his resources by occupying the neighbouring Hindu principality of Tanjore. Lord Pigot, the Governor of Madras, having interposed to frustrate this, was seized in his carriage as he was taking his evening drive

along the Mount Road. The authors of this singular piece of audacity did not stop at that outrage: the unfortunate Go. vernor was thrown into prison by his Council and left there to die. His successor, an old Bengal civilian, Sir Thomas Rumbold, entered upon stormy times. Lord North's administration was hastening to its dishonoured end. Seldom have the fortunes of Britain been in a darker condition. The war with the American colonies approached near to its last sad phase. France and Spain were banded together against our country, unprescient of the chastisement awaiting them at the hands of Rodney. Haidar Ali, the brilliant adventurer, who had made himself ruler of Mysore, having lost all trust in the power or capacity of the Madras Government, espoused the cause of France, and proclaimed war against the British on the ground that they had attacked Pondichéry in defiance of his prohibition, and in violation of the neutrality of his territory. Such was the moment chosen by Rumbold and the Madras officials for outraging the feelings of the Nizam, the virtually independent Viceroy of the Deccan, by taking from him the province of Gantúr and assigning it to their puppet, the Nawab of Arcot.

On the 30th of July 1780 Haidar burst into the Carnatic at the head of a powerful and well-provided army, in which were French gunners and other auxiliaries. The Madras authorities were appalled and paralyzed by a shock, for which, as it was of their own preparing, they ought surely to have been prepared. Their imbecility in trouble equalled their corruption in prosperity. Their military efforts were inefficient and contemptible. Colonel Baillie's force was destroyed by the enemy, while Sir Hector Munro, the hero of Buxar, lay idle with his

army within earshot of the firing.

Then Hastings, hitherto only known as a civil reformer, showed what genius could do in the untried field of war. Outraged by the acts of Rumbold and his Council, the Nizam was on the verge of joining Haidar: Hastings conciliated him by a promise that the Madras Council should be compelled to restore the stolen province. The Mahratta Durbar at Poona showed symptoms of leaning towards an alliance with Haidar. Hastings sent a force into Berar under Colonel Pearse, contributing three lakhs towards the military chest out of his own private funds. Sir Eyre Coote was despatched to the Carnatic at the head of the bulk of the Bengal army; the Nawab of Oudh and the Rája of Benares were called on for aid.

These measures were fully successful. Coote defeated Haidar and joined hands with Pearse. In December 1782 the old Lion of Mysore expired. The reign of the corrupt, incompetent, and mutinous civilians of Madras was at the same time abolished

by the appointment of Lord Macartney as Governor.

It is out of place to tell a thrice-told tale: attention is only to be called here to the casual nature of all this history. The annexation of Benares grew out of the refusal of the Rája to contribute to the Southern war. The next annexation, that of the Carnatic, arose from a peace made with Haidar's son. Then, Hastings retired from office, having hanged Nand Kumár, wounded Sir Philip Francis in a duel, outlived the rest of his enemies, rewarded and advanced his friends, and saved for his old age a small provision that just paid the costs of his impeachment.

III.

The story is nearly at an end: The making of India was fairly started when Hastings left. The appointment of such a man as Lord Cornwallis, high in the social and political scale, and distinguished in war, (despite the disaster of York Town) was a final step in the direction of State interference. The mercantile monopoly had developed into a political ascendancy of which the end could not then be seen. The permanent settlement of the land revenue in the Eastern Provinces, followed by the enactment of what may be called a code of law. will be found described in a valuable contemporary record— Harington's Analysis—and set the seal on this operation. people now regard the revenue policy as a mistake. Zemindars with whom the perpetual contracts were made, were not really proprietors, in the English sense of the word; and the result of treating with them on that footing, has been to dry up a source of revenue which, in other provinces, remains to this day elastic. The Zemindars made use of their new statutory title to raise money which they squandered in absentee extravagance, so that their estates became encumbered, or were transferred to strangers who rack-rented the unprotected tenants; while the State got no share in the enhanced rents, and had to make up for growing expenditure by laying unfair burdens on other provinces, and by general taxation. This mistake has borne bitter fruit in later times, of which the last crop was seen in the discussions on the Bengal Tenancy Bill of our own day; a measure much opposed in the interest of the Zemindars, but whose result will probably be to make some improvement in the position of the tenants and in the general condition of the population at large, of which a large proportion consists of persons dependent on the land.

The improvements in the laws and in the administration of justice were of less questionable advantage. But this system having endured without much change since the time of Cornwallis, must for that very reason require examination in the changed condition of society. The other great discussion of our own times, that provoked by the so-called "Ilbert Bill,"

has been provisionally settled, but in a manner which has satisfied nobody. Both these subjects require an early and earnest examination.

As to purely political matters, it is clear that the relations of Lord Cornwallis to the native powers were of a tentative and almost a blind character. He continued, in spite of prohibitions from home—probably, in spite of his own desire—to strengthen the foundations of British paramount-ship. But it may be doubted whether any other course was open. He seems to have still clung to the idea of a balance of power among the native States. But such an idea was not to be realised. The Empire was in decrepitude; yet such was the prestige that it still retained, as to render it impossible for any other native power to take its place. A shrewd and well-informed observer of the time has recorded this opinion; and no one had better means of judging than General De Boigne. His master, Sindhia, vainly attempted to become paramount in the name and under the auspices of the Empire: and if Cornwallis had attempted to do the same, he would have met with a similar disappointment. The Nizam might—if he had been a brave and competent ruler—have been made sovereign in the Deccan; but could never have extended his overlordship North of the Nerbuda, or have displaced the Empire, and Sindhia in Hindustan. Sindhia was master of the Empire; but Sindhia's system rested on his own life, fast drawing to a close, and was impeded by the rivalry of Holkar and the jealousy of the Mahratta Durbar at Poona.

Accordingly it turned out that the schemes of Sindhia were, virtually, neutralised by his death in 1794. The military power of his house, created and matured as it had been by De Boigne, endured for a few years, and kept Holkar and the Durbar within bounds. But Sindhia's successor was a spoilt boy, incapable of directing the huge machinery; and his ultimate fall left a vacuum into which British supremacy entered as by natural In the Deccan a parallel line was laid down. General Raymond, the Nizam's French commander, prospered for a while; and a troublesome war resulted, owing partly to the inadequacy of Shore, created Governor-General, and Lord Teignmouth: the last of the civilian rulers until the time of Lord Lawrence. Shore was an able man in his way; and his ability was not that of the mere revenue-officer, as was shown in the courage and originality of his singular proceedings in Oudh, where he removed a Nawab and substituted another whose claims he found established after a local inquiry. But he was not a statesman of the English class: he was by habit and tradition a subordinate. Yielding to the tendency of his instructions from the Court of Directors, he would not open his hand to the gifts of Fortune.

Then came the French Revolution and the mighty struggle with First Consul Bonaparte. That tremendous man had always an eye turned on the rising empire of Britain in the East, where he had once in his humbler days, dreamed of drawing an adventurous sword. He saw that France had been on the point of forestalling England in those rich and romantic regions; and he thought that a blow might be struck there under which England would reel. He egged on the Russians and Persians to a co-operation which would have been, indeed, formidable, but for the counteraction of Lord Wellesley, who was thus drawn into an extension of British diplomacy into Upper Asia.

Wellesley was one of those aristocratic English statesmen who staked all in the opposition to the Revolution and its mighty swordsman. He foresaw the precarious duration of the Peace of Amiens and forestalled its rupture. War with Sindhia was regarded by him as part of the war with France. France would renew her attack by attempting to invade England: and then one of the defences of Dover should be found at Delhi.

His forecast was confirmed in every particular. Delhi was captured and Dover was saved. The Mughal Emperor became a British pensioner; his power had been long agonising, now it was at last stone-dead; and England took its place.

The rest of the story is notorious. Britain once paramount in India, the remaining Native States were practically mediatised. Fighting might, and did, go on, now in one place, now in another; but for the most part it was only a Police-operation on a grand scale. At last came the final change. That restless genius, Lord Dalhousie, was possessed by an almost fanatical belief in the benefit of English administration in India; and the logical result was, that no opportunity of extending it should be neglected. * Dalhousie's rule was the first express and deliberate attempt at making India a part of the British Empire. It was also the last. With the suppression of the succeeding Revolt in 1857, came a wider and more intelligent policy, into the account of which it is not now necessary to The making of India was resumed after this brief interruption. We may therefore sum up the evidence by concluding, that commerce has on the whole been the object from first to last: political power having been only attained as a means, and by way of episode.

The incumbency of Warren Hastings is the turning point in the history of British India. When he first came up from

^{*} Greville records that the succession to Lord Hardinge was offered to Sir James Graham, who only declined it in deference to the scruples of Sir R. Peel. Great events hinged on this apparent trifle.

Madras to rule the Calcutta factory, the main object of the Court of Directors was to establish a good mercantile position; and the small political efforts that were made, appear to have been sincerely intended for the consolidation of commerce. As the Empire decayed, however, the Company's servants had been led more and more to seek for the protection and extension of their business at the feudatory Courts of the Nawabs, or Governors. When one native ruler failed them, they deposed him and set up another. They even acknowledged the wandering Emperor, and accepted office and territory in Bengal from him; but still they held up the Nawab's Government as de facto valid and supreme; as they also did that of the corresponding potentate at Madras and that of the Peshwa at Bombay. Farther inland, the Nizam and the Vazir Haidar, Holkar, Sindhia, the Jâts, and the Sikhs, were regarded as powers beyond the scope of British operations unless they became aggressive. Then they were to be dealt with by diplomacy, or in the last extreme, by force. In their earlier days the British in India were ready to accept the patronage of any "country power" who could afford them security for their mercantile transactions; and ready to bow respectfully to the rest.

When, however, Hastings became Governor-General, a change occurred; partly due to his far-sighted ambition, partly to the increasing inefficiency of the contiguous Native States. Bengal collapsed; its last native statesman disappeared on the Calcutta gallows. Arcot was caducous, the Mahratta Durbar in ruins. The Empire was crumbling; the British were every where brought in contact with, what may be called, "the second line" of Native States. It thus became necessary to find a balance of power; or, if one could not be otherwise created, to step boldly forward, and make a keystone of British paramountship: otherwise the British must retire from the country, and the Indian markets be left to the decay of anarchy and the competition of foreign commerce. This

alternative could not be entertained.

What ensued has been here very briefly noticed. With Wellesley the ascendancy of Calcutta became established. Still maladministration and a species of glorified dacoity remained: and it turned out that paramountship could not be completely effected without annexing provinces. This process went on from 1807 to 1857: it was not exactly the "conquest of India;" for which our forces were inadequate had there even been an Indian nation. But this there was not: the country was more like France in the middle ages, which the Plantagenets were able to partially subdue with the aid of Native Chiefs and soldiers.*

^{*} V. Seeley's Expansion of England, pp. 198-201.

There was not only found to be no general government in India: in many regions there was no particular government either. British power rushed into a vacuum, and was accepted by a sort of inarticulate plebiscite; because it maintained order. Nor was this done by the British as a State, though the State lent troops, and gradually appropriated the results,

It was primarily the work of a City Company.

Since that Company at last failed to keep order while it seemed to be threatening the last sources of national life, the Mutiny of the Bengal Army led to wavering in the allegiance of the people which had seemed so firm. Then the State had to step into the arena. The British Nation took upon itself the office that had hitherto been vicariously discharged; and substituted fact for an administrative fiction. Order was restored without the excessive vigour of repressive vengeance, that would have created rankling memories Observant foreigners have done justice to the work. M. de Valbezen, in a book that was written at the time, though not published till some time after, showed that a French intellect was not blind to its elements of might and right: and the late M. Katkoff avowed a generous sympathy. Recognising the concurrence of our country with his own in the introduction of Christian civilization into the fierce anarchies of Asia, the able Russian journalist touched the true key-note of the theme:—

"In reality, the English have been the saviours of India. During whole centuries, the history of India presents one continual spectacle of murder and devastation. The blody era terminates with the conquest of India by the English, and, though their government may not have been an example of all imaginable perfection, it is impossible not to admit that it has been incomparably more mild, humane, and just, than all

the governments under which Hindus have ever lived.'

His countrymen seem since then to have shown an inclination to disturb this beneficent undertaking. But it may be permitted to express a doubt as to the seriousness of that ambition. So long as Russia regards Great Britain as pledged to oppose her advances in Eastern Europe, it is to be expected that she will make feints upon the Indian frontier, which may have the effect of compelling the Indian Government to keep a large garrison of white troops in that quarter, and of thereby neutralising a considerable portion of our not too numerous forces. The direct immediate result of that policy of hers may be to aid the other means by which the multifarious elements of Indian society are being welded into one. This should end well, if it leads us to plan for curselves, and hold up to the hopes of the Indian races and their chiefs, the prospect of an ultimate solidarity which may enable us to relieve

ourselves gradually of some of the cares and dangers of the present situation. If a 'Dominion of India' shall thus be formed, Britain would perhaps come in time to have a renewal of merely commercial relations; and the problem long ago attacked by the East India Company, will be solved in a manner satisfactory to both parties and to national ethics.

In the meantime, what the British nation has to do is, to continue from time to time the work of taking stock and examining the progress and path of its Indian administration: even should it feel that some of the facts so discovered may be of a nature to cause anxiety and trouble. Above all, India must be kept, as much as possible, out of the arena of foreign war, and out of the field of domestic politics. The present constituencies cannot be expected to understand, or even to greatly care to understand, so remote and complicated a matter. They will probably remain, for some time at least, content to leave it in the hands of trustees: but they ought to have the means of satisfying themselves that those trustees are at once vigilant, and well-informed, and sincere.

Lord Tennyson had summed up this view of the subject

with his accustomed compact eloquence :-

Russia bursts our Indian barrier; shall we fight her, shall we yield? Pause before you sound the trumpet; hear the voices from the field. Those three hundred millions, under one imperial sceptre now, Shall we hold them, shall we lose them? Take the suffrage from the plough:

Nay, but these would feel and follow truth, if only you, and you, Rivals of realm-ruining party, when you speak were wholly true.

H. G. KEENE.

ART. V.—THE HINDU LAWGIVERS AND THEIR CODES.

LTHOUGH there are several treatises in English which profess to deal with Hindu Law, there is hardly a single work which throws any light on the peculiarities of Hindu Jurisprudence, or the successive steps by which it has been gradually developed and improved. The scholars and jurists, who have devoted their attention to the subject, have placed the republic of letters in possession of a few historical facts and dates—and a great many conjectures too about the authorship of our legal Codes and Digests. But Hindu Jurisprudence has not been reviewed by any one in that philosophical method which characterises Sir Henry Maine's Ancient Law. The result is that the Institutes of our holy legislators are very imperfectly appreciated. At any rate, they are very erroneously regarded by many as mere ideal pictures and not Codes of Law.* The truth, however, is that the Sanhitas of Manu and Yagnyavalkya are Codes, in a far more comprehensive sense, than the modern legistative enactments to which the name is usually applied. The Sanhitas deal not only with what Mr. Austin calls Positive Law, but they affect to regulate the action of all classes of men, in almost every concern of life. Social etiquette, domestic duties, education, diet, cleanliness-all these, and many things else, come within the scope of their legislation. They lay down rules not only for the guidance of the several castes, but they define the duties of the kingly office, and succeeded in making even crowned heads bow to their authority. So great is their influence even at the present time, that the strenuous efforts made of late years for what is called 'social reformation' have not been productive of any result whatever: nay, the Widow-Marriage Act itself, of the all powerful British Indian Legislature, has remained like a dead letter in the statute book.

The principles which, according to Sir Henry Maine, govern the origin and developement of juridical ideas, are based upon the systems of law with which the learned jurist was familiar; but so far as Hindu Law is concerned, those principles have little or no application. In fact, both as to province and method, the dissimilarity between the Hindu Codes and the Legal Systems of Europe is so great,

[·] Vide Sir Henry Maine's Ancient Law. p. 18.

that the same principles cannot possibly hold good with regard to both. In European countries the primary object of legislators is to frame rules for the adjudication of forensic disputes; but the ultimate aim of the Hindu Rishis was to regulate the action of men in every department of life. Europe the temporal rulers make laws, and enforce them by temporal punishment; but, in the belief of orthodox Hindus, Law is eternal and immutable. Even Manu and Yagnyavalkya are not, strictly speaking, authors of our Theoretically, they are mere compilers, who have collected together, in a handy and convenient form, the Ordinances of the Vedas. The fact or fiction is that the Vedas is too vast to be mastered by ordinary mortals; and the Rishis and their books are, therefore, accepted as the safest and most reliable guides. The legal systems of modern Europe are like mechanisms for artificial irrigation. There is no mystery about their source of supply, or as to the channels in which they flow. Their course is always direct and straight to the point; but their range and sphere of action are extremely limited, and they very seldom make any permanent impression, or wash away for ever the evils which they are meant to remedy. In fact, they generally cease to work so soon as the power at their source is withdrawn or crippled.

The character of Hindu Jurisprudence is altogether different. Its origin is so completely lost in the inaccessible heights of remote antiquity, that we regard it as the direct gift of Heaven. The binding force of a very large portion of our laws is not dependent upon the power or inclination of any temporal sovereign or administrator to enforce them: they carry with them their own sanction. It, therefore, happens that, in spite of all the changes in the political condition of the Hindus, their Law still retains, to a great extent, that vitality which it had in the days of Brahmanical ascendancy. Considering all these peculiarities of Hindu Jurisprudence, it is no wonder that its developement has taken a different course altogether from that of the European systems. According to Sir Henry Maine the agencies by which law is improved and modified are:—

I. Fiction.

2. Equity. | 3. Legislation.

We have in our [Jurisprudence a large number of fictions which have served as instruments for modifying and improving it. But the most important agencies which have answered that purpose in our system are:—

- Direct Legislation.
 Indirect Legislation.
- 3. Interpretation.
 - 4. Indirect Repeal.

It is not my purpose to say any thing in this paper with regard to direct legislation or interpretation. My object in this article, is to explain what I mean by indirect legislation, and to cite a few instances in order to illustrate it. With regard to what I call Indirect Repeal, it is well known that, in almost all cases, where our Rishis thought it desirable to rescind or set aside any ancient law or usage, they have achieved their object by declaring the same to be applicable to a former age. These may be regarded as instances of legal fiction. But for clearness of exposition, I place them under a distinct head.

Theoretically considered, direct legislation may appear to be better than the indirect methods which I am about to refer to. But so long as human nature continues to be what it is, direct legislation must, in some cases, be quite as undesirable as direct taxes. The Rishis had little or no temporal power. In bringing about such changes in the customs of the time as they deemed necessary, it would have been a fatal error on their part to ride rough-shod on the feelings and prejudices of the men whom they sought to rule and civilize. They eradicated the barbarous institutions of primitive society, not by high-handed measures of enforced reform, but by a kind of legislative tact, which, when clearly understood, cannot

but elicit the admiration of every reflecting mind.

Among the ordinances in the Code of Manu which have led European scholars to conclude that it is only an ideal picture. the most important are, perhaps, those which require every member of the twice-born caste to pass through four different Asramas or modes of life. In practice, very few Hindus observe these precepts, and perhaps there never was a time when they were observed. They, therefore, apparently support the conclusion that Manu's Sanhita is not a Code of Laws, but a work of the same nature as More's Utopia. But the fact is that, in this very instance, the sage displayed that eminently practical turn of mind and that wonderful tact which were the main causes of his success as a legislator. On reading the texts on this subject between the lines, it would appear that what the Lawgiver really intended, was to encourage men to marry and live as peaceful householders, instead of observing celebacy, and running the risk of drifting into a disreputable course of life. Asceticism naturally calls forth the admiration of the vulgar; and the man who renounces the world, on the plea of religion, generally attains a high place in public estimation, though he may be only an adventurer or a swindler pure and simple. It was, however, not consistent with Manu's policy to declare that there was no merit whatever in the life of a Sanyasi or a Fakir. He does not say that ascetics are either lovers of notoriety or misguided enthusiasts. The sage

knew too well how to maintain the dignity of his profession, to expose even the pretenders in religion to infamy; so, instead of discrediting asceticism, he actually recommends it, though at a period of life when it can have no attraction even to the most adventurous spirits. It is laid down in his Code that after completing the study of the Vedas, men should marry and live as householders till their fiftieth year, or till the period when the decay of the physical powers of the body visibly commenced. (Manu, Chapter VI, verse 2.)

The device answered its purpose. By means of it mendicancy was checked, and the Brahmanical priests were enabled to marry, without losing their sanctity. The ultimate result of this was that their profession became hereditary. There are other religions which sanction the marriage of the priestly class. But Hinduism is the only religion that places marriage on a higher footing than asceticism. (Manu, Chapter III, verses

77, 78.)

The practical good sense which characterises these precepts clearly proves that the Hindu Legislators were not mere visionaries and dreamers. According to their conception of religion, its function is to regulate the action of men in all things where they require to be guided. Their ideal may not be acceptable to those who are accustomed to regard religion as equivalent to faith in God, and in the efficacy of prayer; but as to the philosophical thoughtfulness and practical statesmanship of the sages who originated and worked out the idea, there

can be but one opinion.

Another instance of what I call indirect legislation is to be found in the ordinances by which the primitive practice of marriage by purchase, force, or fraud, has been made to give place to the form of matrimony which now prevails among all the higher castes of the Hindus. The device by which this has been accomplished is, in many respects, similar to that by which asceticism has been discouraged. In both cases, the main instruments by which the desired result has been brought about are classification and marshalling in particular orders. Marriage by force, fraud, or purchase is not declared as altogether illegal; but eight different modes of acquiring marital dominion are enumerated; and, while marriage, based on the gift of the bride by her father is placed in the highest class, the other forms of matrimony are placed in the lower classes, and declared as more or less sinful. Marriage based on gift is, in fact, so strongly recommended, that it has very nearly superseded all the other forms of wedlock. The legislation of the sages has, in this instance, been rather too effective; for, instead of bridegrooms having to buy brides, the prevailing complaint now is that the parents of marriageable girls have to give heavy bribes to eligible bridegrooms and their

parents. From the definition of the Brahmo form of marriage in the holy Codes, it appears clear that it was originally meant as a device for encouraging the cultivation of learning, and elevating the position of the literary profession. Manusays:

The gift of a damsel richly clad and decorated (with ornaments) to a man learned in the Vedas, whom her father invites, without being solicited,

is nuptial called Brahmo. - Manu, Chapter III, v. 27.

As the privilege of studying the Vedas is confined to the Brahmans, the Brahmo form was evidently not meant for the other castes. But the inferior classes of society are so prone to imitate the practice of the aristoracy, that even among the Sudras, the Brahmo is now the prevailing form of matrimony. In this respect, also, the legislation of the Rishis has been rather too successful.

The legislation by which illegitimate sons have been deprived of the status which they had in the primitive state of society, is exactly similar. There was, perhaps, a time in every society when the distinction between bastards and legitimate sons was unknown or practically overlooked. It is only at a very advanced stage of civilization that bastards are regarded as filius nullius. But Hindu jurisprudence alone preserves any record of the successive steps by which the feelings and notions of men on the subject have been moulded into their present shape. At the time when the Rishis legislated, they could not, by one stroke of their pen, deprive children of illegitimate birth of all their rights. In all probability concubinage was in those times the rule, and marriage, in regular form, the exception among all but the highest castes. In the nature of things, there is not much difference between the child of a woman kept under protection, and one born of lawful wedlock. At the present time, Hindu feeling is so strong against illegitimacy, that it is extremely rare, and the few whose purity of birth is known to be doubtful, are excluded from the society of all respectable people, and are treated as worse than outcastes. The sentiments of the Hindus in the matter are now so far in advance of their laws that, although the Shasters give certain rights of inheritance to the illegitimate sons of Sudras, in practice, the right is never recognised; and so far as Bengal is concerned, the law has been practically modified and brought into harmony with the sentiments of the people, by the decision of Mr. Justice R. C. Mitter in the case Narain Dhara v. Rakhal Gain (I. L. R., I. Cal. p. 1).

At the time when the Rishis legislated, any attempt to deprive bastards of all rights of sonship would have been too far in advance of the age to have been practically successful. By insisting upon the marriage of females before maturity, and by descanting on the spiritual bliss attained through the birth of an Aurasa or legitimate son, the legislation of the Rishis reduced the number of bastards in the country to such an extent that, from a very early period, they ceased to be recognised altogether. The older Codes divided them into several different classes. But in consequence of the early marriage of females, and the abolition of Niyoga, the Khettraja,* the Kanina,† and the Sahadraja‡ kinds became rare if not obsolete; and it is not surprising that the sage, Vrihaspati himself refused to recognise the 12 classes of sons mentioned in the earlier Codes. The Rishi says:—

"Sons of many descriptions who were made by ancient saints, cannot now be adopted by men by reason of their deficiency of power."

The commentators adopted this doctrine, and the judgment of Mr. Justice R. C. Mitter, in the case referred to above, has given a further extension to it.

The most important instance of indirect legislation by our Rishis, is that by which the practice called Niyoga, or appointment to raise issue on the widow of a deceased person, has been made obsolete. As the marriage of Hindu widows was quite as impossible in former times as it is now, on account of the zenana-system, it was but natural that on the death of any member of a joint-family, his widows passed under the protection of one of his surviving brothers. In all probability the practice was very general in the time of the Rishis, and they could not hope to abolish it by direct legislation. So, after denouncing it as fit only for cattle, and ascribing its origin to King Vena, the sage Manu changes his tone altogether, and declares that it is legal, but only when made in a lawful manner, and with a lawful object. He then goes on to prescribe certain ceremonies and conditions, ostensibly to regulate the practice, but in reality to make it impossible. The conditions are:

- (1). That the levir must be appointed for the purpose by some one having the necessary authority in the family.
- (2). That the parties should meet only once in a month.
- (3). That they should meet only at dead of night.

^{*} Khettraja is the son begotten on the widow of a deceased person by his brother or other relation.

⁺ Kanina is the son of an unmarried damsel.

[‡] Sahadraja is a son conceived in the womb of his mother at the time of her marriage.

[§] By this account of the origin of the practice, the sage obviously meant to say that it was not an immemorial custom.

- (4). That they should not converse with each other.
- (5). That the widow should not dress or toilet like a married woman.
- (6). That after the birth of one male child, the parties should regard each other as father-in-law and daughter-in-law.

Such being the restrictions imposed on Niyoga, it is no wonder that is has become obsolete and unknown. The Rishis who, by such means, abolished widely-prevailing customs, were certainly not mere moral teachers. Their ordinances clearly show that their object was to regulate the conduct of men, and not merely to preach what they thought to be true and proper. For all practical purposes they were legislators. It is true that they were neither elected by the people, nor appointed by the king to make laws. But the commands imposed by them are generally obeyed, and are, therefore, Laws according to Mr. Austin's definition of the term. That being the case, their Sanhitas are certainly entitled to be regarded as Codes of Law.

JOGENDRA NATH BHATTACHARJIA.

ART. VI.—"THE REVERSE, OR WRONG SIDE."

Our clever manufacturers have invented many new and curious fabrics that are equally attractive on both sides, but still the percentage of cloths that have a distinct right and wrong side is very large. The term wrong, as applied to the reverse of any cloth, is hardly correct, although it is always used, as there is nothing wrong about it, it is only less attractive, coarser and inferior in various ways to the upper or right side. It must be carefully kept out of sight, except when required to testify to the good quality of the cloth, lest by its ugliness it should mar the effect of the superior finish of the right side.

Nevertheless it is indispensable.

If we wish to find out the quality of a material, we must examine the under side. Until we have done so, we cannot

be sure of arriving at a proper estimate of its value.

As it is with the endless varieties of goods manufactured for the purpose of supplying the wants, or gratifying the vanity of the human race, so it is with the wearers of those goods. Until we know what the under, or reverse side of their character is like, we can only form an imperfect estimate of their real worth. Few people can boast of having no right and wrong side (in the proper sense of the word), and everyone is justified in wearing the right side outermost. The most exacting advocate of truth and honesty cannot wish us all to wear our velvets and broadcloths inside out.

There are some few fabrics—as there are some few rough diamonds—whose attractions are concealed under a rough surface, but the former do not claim many admirers, while the latter are valueless until they have been properly cut. Human diamonds—in-the-rough, are not easily recognisable. Ordinary mortals may be forgiven for declining to believe that every rough exterior they come across conceals a hidden jewel. There are a great many more imitation diamonds that are mistaken for real ones, than real ones whose value is unsuspected.

Opinions as to the relative virtues of the human materials displayed before us in everyday life differ considerably. One man admires Mrs. Medium Blue, and thinks she is just as pretty and attractive as Mrs. Pale Blue, while another recognizes her inferiority instinctively. Mrs. Medium is always surrounded by a certain number of followers, while Mrs. Pale Blue is loved and respected wherever she goes. Mrs. Medium

is for ever struggling to look like Mrs. Pale Blue, but her admirers all belong to the great family of Shamites, who pretend to think she succeeds, while in their hearts they acknowledge her inferiority. Let us turn up a corner and see if we can find out why these two, who look to the careless observer so much alike, are really very different. Ah! this explains it—Mrs. Pale Blue is one of the Real Velvets, and Mrs. Medium Blue is only one of the Cotton Backs.

"Really, no one would have known the difference, unless that corner had been turned up," remarks one of the Shamites. Would they not? I doubt it; very few people are so ignorant as to make such a mistake: there is a delicacy of finish, a softness of touch about the Real Velvets that the Cotton Backs cannot attain to; besides that troublesome corner is sure to be turned up, some one always sees the wrong side,

and tells everyone else that it is only Cotton.

side, and feels aggrieved when he opens them.

Naturally everyone cannot be a Real Velvet, and Cotton Backs are very useful. They are only despised when they try to make out they are Real Velvets with Silk Backs. Honest little Mrs. French Merino and her daughter Cashmere, never get snubbed like the Cotton Backs, because they are modest and unassuming. Mrs. Merino, indeed, does not mind in the least having a corner turned up, for she is the same both sides; she is always the same, honest and thorough, not perhaps so graceful as her daughter Cashmere, but always fit to be seen, and highly respectable.

When a man selects the cloth for a coat, he carefully examines the under side, as well as the smooth fine looking surface, not with the intention of wearing his coat inside out, but because he wishes to assure himself of the good quality of the cloth. When he selects a wife he is often less cautious, and judges by the charming softness and finish of the right side, without attempting to look at the under side, although he cannot fail to have opportunities of seeing the corner turned up; he wilfully shuts his eyes to the fact that there must be an under-

In society the tendency is to keep the corners down, and very reasonably so. Most people have something unlovely in their lives, and although it may be nothing to be ashamed of, there is no reason why they should parade it before the eyes of the world. The small frets of everyday life, the many ailments flesh is heir to, and the consequent ruffling of the tempers, are well known to our friends—too well, perhaps—but there is no reason why we should inflict them on our acquaintances, or why we should not have pity on our friends and keep them out of sight—turn down the corner in fact, and having frankly acknowledged that there is an under

side, allow them to forget it when they are in our society. The individual who allows the reverse to appear too frequently becomes an eyesore to all who have an idea of beauty and appropriateness, while, on the other hand, everyone is suspicious of too carefully concealed wrong sides. A stiff social breeze is apt to turn up a good many corners, and where there is no Cotton Back to be disclosed, no one need be ashamed to let their friends and acquaintances see the reverse. It is rarely equal to the highly finished right side, but it will prove the good or bad quality of the material, it may even reveal excellencies that a sober and unattractive

exterior gave no promise of.

One of these social breezes is blowing in the station of C.—, Take care Mrs. Medium, those spiteful remarks of yours are showing us of what stuff you are really made. Mrs. Pale Blue is angry too, but she is Real Silk, and deliberately turns the corners up, can you afford to do the same? Her anger does not make her behave unbecomingly: we all knew she had an under side, but now we see that it is one she need not be ashamed of. Mr. Glossy Broadcloth has forgotten that he has been pretending to be one of the Superfines. and has incautiously revealed the fact that the grain of his cloth is coarse and rough. So also is that of Mr. Serge and Mrs. Tweed, but then they make no pretence of being fine. They are not so high class as the Superfines, but they are thoroughly reliable, honest people, whose good qualities are sure to be recognized when the weather is stormy. As for that little Satinette who was so bright and trim before, she is limp and dabbered now; the cruel wind has blown her about too roughly, and curious effects have been the result. Whispers of "Cheap and nasty" are heard from the corner, where Mrs. Flowered Sateen sits, confiding to one of the simple Muslins, the advisability of using pretty linings when the reverse of the material is unlovely.

It is wonderful how many people there are in the world who take a delight in peeping under other people's corners, or in roughly disclosing their under side; others are always imagining that they see imperfections that do not exist, while some charitable folks believe every one to be even better than they seem at first, and are then unreasonably disgusted at

finding out their mistake.

We should laugh at the man who turned the backs of his pictures outwards, or had his table-cloths put on upside down; and we laugh at the man who takes a pride in showing off the imperfections of his character in public, We have no more right to offend against good manners by showing off our temper, or our stinginess, our extravagance

or our selfishness, than we have to wear our clothes inside out, and it is decidedly unjust to accuse people of hypocrisy because they wear a smiling face in public, when they are

known to shed bitter tears in private.

It is always dangerous to judge by outward appearances only. How often do we hear people accused of being mean, stingy, inhospitable, their unwillingness to put their name to the many subscription lists that are circulated in a station, condemned, and their ability to subscribe, or to entertain

largely, freely discussed.

"How mean of the Homespuns," everyone remarks, "to refuse to subscribe anything towards the new Billiard table they never join in anything, and he has very good pay, and there are no children to provide for. The Medium Blues draw quite Rs. 300 less, they have several children to provide for, and yet they join in everything; he has put down his name for Rs. 100 to the Race Fund, etc., etc." Quite true; apparently, the Medium Blues are more generous, more charitable and open-hearted than the Homespuns. But Homespun's friends know, what the rest of the world is ignorant of, that he has an invalid brother to support and a sister's child to educate; or that his health is so bad, that he may have to retire before his full pension is due; and unless he saves something now that he can, he may find himself on the starvation allowance of 15 of his pay before long. Who knows all the channels through which a man's pay filters away? Everyone can make a fair guess at how much flows into his cash-box, but who can tell how much goes out?

The Medium Blues draw less pay, but two of their children are being brought up at home by her relations, the rest cannot be sent home because Medium Blue is in debt, and spends all his income in keeping up appearances. Probably when he dies his fellow-officers will be called upon to subscribe for his widow and children; the Poor Homespuns who have lived a life of self-sacrifice for years, kept clear of debt and subscribed to a Pension Fund, so that they may never be a burden to anyone, are considered mean if they refuse to recognise the justice of being called upon to help the family of a man who spent all he had, and neglecting the duty of a husband and father, left his

family unprovided for.

Many men help their relations and say nothing about it; they cannot marry because they have to provide for a spend-thrift brother's children, or support their mother and sisters. The fact of their keeping their corner carefully turned down leads to their being misjudged. Good men are much more chary of talking of their good deeds than bad men are of boasting of their wicked ones, and as the general world has no

opportunity of examining the under side of their lives, they are judged according to the unpretentious appearance of their

outward lives.

The simple Muslins are a pleasant family, and everyone likes them, although some affect to despise them. Their actions are less liable to misinterpretation then those of most other families, and if they are accused of presumption, it is generally by those who cannot appreciate the simplicity of their character: on the other hand no family is so persistently misrepresented as the Shot Silks, and the new fabrics that are plain on one side and striped on the other. Everyone agrees as to the quality of these families, but each one differs in their appreciation of it.

"Really a lovely shade of green" remarks one lady.

"It may be green" says a second, "but from here it looks

anything but lovely,"

"It is not green at all" cries a third, "it is decidedly red," and so they go on differing, like the men in the old fable of the cameleon.

Our actions are often cameleon-kind—one person thinks we were right, another thinks we were wrong; what one person

considers kind-hearted, another declares to be insulting.

"My dear," said an elderly lady kindly to a young mother who had just arrived in a station with two sick babies; "I heard your little ones were ill, and I came to see if I could help you."

"How kind of her," one says. "I was so glad of her help, it was very neighbourly and good of her to come directly she

heard I was in trouble."

"How rude of her," exclaims another, "as if I wanted her help. Did she suppose I had no nurse to take care of my children, so pushing of her to come rushing over directly she heard I had arrived, as if I wanted a stranger poking about,

before I was ready to receive anyone."

In this way the simplest actions are canvassed. What one considers brave, another says is fool-hardy; what one calls cowardice, another recognises as the highest moral courage—the courage to do right at the risk of being called a coward. We must all take our chance of being so canvassed, and as long as our friends know what material we are made of, we can afford to laugh at the conjectures and insinuations of the rest of the world; some little breeze is sure to stir the corners and show them the real quality of the cloth. If we belong to the numerous family of Shamites, that stirring of the corners will have a fatal effect.

Very curious disclosures have been made by sudden emergencies, and the individuals who have concealed the unloveliness of the under side of their lives, look very small when chance reveals it to the world, and they are recognised as Shams, or Imitations. As for instance, when a lady was compelled by circumstances to ask a visitor to stay to dinner, and revealed in a conversation with her German nurse—who was also headcook and maid of all works—her vexation at having to do so, and the poverty of her larder. An animated discussion between mistress and maid concerning the possibility of making a scrap of cold mutton, that was all too little for two persons, provide dinner for three, was too amusing to be interrupted, but when the visitor heard how the deficiency was to be made up-how essence of beef flavored with Worcester sauce was to be served as soup, and a hasty pudding concocted, with various dishes the directions for which sounded like receipts for making something out of nothing,—she beat a hasty retreat. As she had been sumptuously entertained on previous occasions when she had been an expected guest, the contrast between the upper and under side of life in that house struck her rather forcibly. The possibility of her understanding German never struck her intended hostess, and when she disclosed the fact. the effect was rather dumbfounding.

In some houses nothing more than cold mutton can be expected, and if it is frankly offered and seasoned with goodwill and hospitality, no chance guest can fairly grumble at it; but when the style of the house is pretensious, the occasional dinners somewhat sumptuous, and the position of the host and hostess such as to warrant a considerable amount of domestic comfort, a chance visitor may well be surprised at accidentally seeing a veritable patchwork lining to the highly finished upper cloth; in this case the under side is really the wrong side, and

a very coarse and unprepossessing under side too.

If the reverse of our lives and character bears the same relation to the upper or outward side, that the wrong side of a good cloth bears to the right, we need not be ashamed to show it, but if it belies the fair promise of a highly finished exterior, we must expect, sooner or later, to be found out, and made to take our place amongst the Cotton Backs and Imitations.

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ART. VII.—THE DIOCESE OF CALCUTTA: ITS SUBDIVISION, AN URGENT AND PRACTICAL NECESSITY.

[CONTENTS.—I.—The Subdivision of Calcutta Diocese no new matter—II. Its urgency.—III. Retrospect.—IV. Acquisition of Territory.—V. Later relief.—VI. Enabling Measure needed.—VII. National dread of being over-officered.—VIII. Example of the Roman Church.—IX. New Sees now urgently wanted.—X. Time and Distance.—XI. The need continuously kept in view. XII. Conclusion.]

question for many years. It stands well to the front among public matters of general interest at the present time. Public opinion has taken up the matter, and feels that the time has gone by for theorising on the platform and in the press, and that inaction will no longer be tolerated. The Christian conscience in regard to our great Indian Empire, may now be said to be roused, impelled partly, no doubt, by its own truer conception of heavy responsibilities, and exceptional opportunities, as also by the concentrated attention of Churchmen generally on the solution of what has always been a difficult problem—the extension of the Indian Episcopate.

It seems useless, almost, to state the urgency of the case,—its facts are so patent, and speak II. Its urgency. for themselves. It is of no avail to point to the present altered state of ecclesiastical matters in India, as compared with what they were in 1814, when the single See of Calcutta was founded. It is an accepted canon of political economy, that nations should make adequate provision for their people, as well ecclesiastically as educationally, socially, fiscally, or otherwise. In other words, commonwealths must keep pace with the times, and abreast of all prominent matters which affect the public well-being. Upon the latter ground, taken in its highest sense, the reduction of the still preposterous dimensions of the Calcutta Diocese, becomes a subject, not for consideration, but for prompt action. The future development of the Church of England in India-or, more properly, the Church of India-depends, humanly speaking, upon the extension of the machinery necessary for its adequate working. The days are happily gone by, for ever, when it was thought, in some quarters, that the Mission of the Church of England in India, lay with the

handful of Europeans, and not the millions of Natives, committed, in the Providence of God, to our care and improvement in every way. To take so partial a view is to close our eyes to the opportunities brought by advancing history to our doors. That was the error of earlier administrations, which rigidly forbad certain Government chaplains to intermeddle with Natives in regard to their religion. All alike, now, whether Government chaplains, Additional Clergy Society chaplains, the clergy of the great Missionary Societies (the S. P. G., and C. M. S), or smaller communities such as the Society of St. John the Evangelist, the Oxford Mission to Calcutta, and the Cambridge Mission to Delhi, would claim an interest in the whole of India as the Church's true Missionfield. Viewed in this manner, interest grows, as responsibility is increasingly realised; and there can be little doubt, that the present flow of Church-life in India is so strong, that it will carry all before it, and sweep away those technical hindrances to the creation of additional Sees, if they yield to no gentle treatment in the meantime.

Let us look for a moment at the past, and recall the measures of relief which have been effected. This may have the double result, of not only emphasising the force of existing needs, as compared with the slight obstacles which stand in the way, but also of stimulating combined effort to supply the one and to overcome the other.

(a.) The Calcutta Diocese, as formed by Letters Patent in 1814, was simply appalling in the extent of its jurisdiction. Were the matter not so serious and far removed from a jest, one could almost smile at the blind infatuation of responsible Ministers of State, in advising the King to lay such a burden on the back of any one man. It not only included the whole of India (comprising an area of 1,600,000 square miles, and a population of over 200,000,000), but, with a subtle foresight, Parliament afterwards enacted that succeeding Crown Possessions were to be spiritually cared for by the Bishop of Calcutta, without any allusion to the need for more Bishops as the Empire of Britain extended her limits.* Thus, in time, the spectacle was presented to Christendom of Bishop Middleton

^{*} In 1817 the Government added to the jurisdiction of the Calcutta Diocese, the entire Island of Ceylon, with an area of 25,742 square miles, and a population proportionately large (it is now about 2,500,000); six years later, it further included "all British subjects within the limit of the East India Company's Charter, and in Islands north of the equator, and all places between the Cape of Good Hope and Magellan's Straits;" and in 1824, the whole of "New South Wales and its dependencies."

presiding not only over Hindustan, but also Ceylon, Australia, and New Zealand. The bare mention of a charge so stupendous, ranging over countries so vast, and so remote, carries on the face of it a verdict of attempting the impossible. True, the gross absurdity of attaching Australia and New Zealand to the See of Calcutta was eventually realised; but at what a distance of time! The former was severed and became a separate Diocese in 1836, * the latter, in 1841. Ceylon was formed into the Diocese of Colombo in 1845. The two Archdeaconries of Madras and Bombay, became independent Sees in 1835 and 1837, respectively.

(b.) Thus, by the year 1841,—which marks the inauguration of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund, which, by the freedom of its action has been of such untold benefit to the Colonial Church—India contained three Dioceses, Madras and Bombay consisting of the Presidencies of those names, leaving all the rest to Calcutta. It should be borne in mind that in all three cases, in the Letters Patent, appointing the Bishops of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, the jurisdiction conferred, has reference

to British territory only.

(c.) This point is of importance, as it brings out the need for Episcopal supervision over immense districts not actually in the absolute possession of England, such as Rajputana, the Central Provinces, Oude, Ajmere, Sinde, Punjab, Coorg, and many others. Of course, many of these territories have since been acquired by the British rule; and it may be well here to recall the years in which so many Native States became British territory, beginning with 1800, after the conquests of the 18th century which, practically, placed India in our hands.

Bundlecund, 1802; Cuttack, 1803 (also Delhi territory);

Guzerat, 1805, Saugor, 1817 (also Ahmedabad); Kandeish and Ajmere, 1818 (also Poona and the South Mahratta country); Beejapore and Ahmedunggur, 1822; Singapore, 1824; Malacca, 1825; Assam and the coast of Burma 1826; Coorg, 1834; Kurnool, 1841; Sinde, 1843; Satara, 1848; Punjab, 1849; Pegu, 1852; Nagpore, 1853; Oude, 1856; and so on, up to 1886, which marked the annexation of the whole of Burma. Thus did the English hold gradually extend far

^{*} Up to the year 1836, Australia had been part of the Diocese of Calcutta. A few years previously (in 1829) the Rev. W. G. Broughton, was selected by the Duke of Wellington as Archdeacon of New South Wales, and in 1836 he became first Bishop of Australia. He described the extent of his Archdeaconry, after an experience of it during 25 years, thus: "Imagine your own Archdeacon, having one Church at St. Alban's, another in Denmark, another at Constantinople, while the Bishop should be at Calcutta!"

and wide. But, as in the case of the growth of the Colonial Church as compared with the growth of the Colonial Empire, the former failed to keep pace with the latter. While the British territory increased from time to time, there was no increase of the Episcopate. If the case was such as has been described with regard to their own populations, how about those immense populations lying all around? True, the several Bishops have, by common consent, the oversight of certain stations in Native States, either independent or tributary; but this is not of right, but of concession, and cannot properly be held as a permanent and satisfactory settlement. It is felt, now-a-days, that these huge Native districts must somehow be cared for by the Church; and something has been done in this direction as we shall now show.

On the death of Bishop Milman in 1876,—due, as many said and still say, to the superhuman efforts, V. Later relief. unsparingly made with his iron constitution, to cope with his vast Diocese-efforts were made, successfully to lop off the two extremities of the Calcutta Diocese. The appeals made, both in England and in India, were well responded to; and in 1877, the Diocese of Lahore was founded and endowed as a Memorial to Bishop Milman (the last to sink beneath the burden), and also the Diocese of Rangoon, mainly by the liberality of the Home See of Winchester. Two years later a further reduction was made,—this time, however, affecting the Diocese of Madras—by the appointment, in 1879, of a Bishop for the Church of England in Travancore and Cochin. This marks an entirely new departure in the history of the Indian Episcopate, as, for the first time, it shows the Episcopal principle in unfettered action, in two independent Native States. Though sanctioned by Government, the Bishop's income is supplied wholly by the Church Missionary Society. This enunciates, in a practical way, the manner in which, as will be shown later on, further extensions of the Indian Episcopate may easily be accomplished. In the same year, 1877, two Assistant Bishops were consecrated, Drs. Caldwell and Sargent, veteran Missionaries of the S. P. G. and C. M. S., respectively, to aid the Bishop of Madras, by taking sole charge of Tinnevelly and the adjoining districts in the south of India. But such an arrangement is unsatisfactory in basis, and provisional in its very nature, for should the See of Madras, think fit, the appointments of these Assistant Bishops would It seems anomalous for any Bishop to hold office within the Diocese of any other, merely on the tenure of a license, revocable at any time, like that of a curate. Many regretted the adoption of the method, and the experiment is not likely to be repeated elsewhere. Bishops should be either: (1) Territorial, or

(2) Suffragan (both applying to British territory only), or (3) Bishops with jurisdiction only (for Native States only), but with status and independence fully assured.

VI. Enabling Measure needed.

Weasure needed.

Which is felt to be so necessary at the present time—to be described shortly in detail—to be provided? By the provision, by Act of Parliament, of an Enabling

by Act of Parliament, of an Enabling Measure, whereby the Church of India may form additional Dioceses as occasion requires. In other words, to have, once and for all, power lodged within the Church to increase her efficiency by her own action, when, where, and how she pleases. The Government, no doubt, would have to be kept informed, so long as the connection exists in India between Church and State: but no obstacle would probably be offered to the consecration of any number of Bishops, if a case could be made out proving the need of them, and based on satisfactory evidence that a sufficient income was forthcoming. The circumstances of the Indian Ecclesiastical Establishment have been unique from the beginning. The fetters of Letters Patent and Government Orders have caused friction in the past, which however has now, happily, nearly worn itself out; and it is impossible to imagine that they could ever be imposed in any future legislation. responsible advisers of the Crown must be aware that the increase of the Episcopate everywhere is one of the problems of the day; and it will have to be met in India in an elastic and generous spirit. The Church of India will, probably, ask nothing more of the Legislature, than the power and freedom to adjust her wants, and increase her organisation as an altered and growing condition of things requires; and, possibly, the additional help gained by giving the new Bishops the rank and pay of Senior Chaplains, as has already been done in the cases of Lahore and Rangoon. Given the Enabling Measure, it would be the Church's own fault if she failed to avail herself largely of the facilities so afforded. Looking round upon the face of India, as at present furnished with Bishops and fixed Dioceses, * any one can see at a glance, how immensely large are the districts and provinces without the presiding jurisdiction of a Bishop, and where, therefore, new dioceses are imperatively necessary and desirable. The Government would then have to be approached for its formal sanction to allow of private enterprise putting into force the Enabling Act. Subsequent powers for the consecration of such Bishops would

^{*} See DIOCESAN MAP OF INDIA AND CEYLON: Allen and Co., 2nd Edition—under the Patronage of the Secretary of State for India—showing exactly what are the limits of British Territory, and also the large areas still without settled or authorised Episcopal control.—[By the Author.]

follow on the provision of an adequate income. This could be supplied in many ways,—the Church Societies, the Universities, private munificence, by any one of these singly, or in combination. Let the past furnish examples. Some Dioceses are provided with Bishops with incomes from Government sources, others have been furnished by individual lay people (e.g., Lady Burdett-Coutts who endowed the Sees of Adelaide and Columbia, besides the Archdeaconry of the latter, and the late Hon'ble John Campbell, who endowed Riverina)-others, again, by corporate bodies like the Universities, by Companies, and by widely-spread subscriptions. We may depend upon it that there are numbers of influential and wealthy laymen and laywomen who would very gladly come forward and share in the foundation of such new Bishoprics as are needed, whenever they are assured that the Church is in earnest with herself, and true to her mission. For what, after all, is her mission? To build up the souls of the faithful who are already within her border, and to bring in those who are yet without: the former quite as much as the latter. This part of the subject cannot be pursued further here; but it is to be feared that it is but little understood. Mission-work is not something accidental; it is the very life and essence of the Church. It is her mission, therefore, at all times, to keep well abreast of the spiritual needs of the people. A subdivision of labour, we know, halves the work, but doubles or trebles its efficiency. Work under such conditions, not only makes greater headway, and reaches the greater number, but is also much better done. A Bishop is the source and centre of a new stream of spiritual life. Multiply these centres, and you multiply—but at an enormously greater ratio-the Church's various agencies and ministrations: just as a centre of heat, throws off rays of heat equally within the radius of its own area.

It is possible to be over-officered, as well as under-officered;

but the English mind, which is very greatly conservative in matters ecclesiastical, evidently has a greater dread of the former than the latter. It is content to let things go on as they have for years, till circumstances break in upon its repose, and force it to contemplate the reform needed, which is not so much in the direction of change, as expansion of existing methods.

Take, by contrast, the personnel of the Roman Catholic Church in India. Whilst the Romans have I Archbishop and 20 Bishops for the oversight of their people in India, the Church of England was content with I in 1814, 3 up to 1877, and even now there are but 7, including the Bishop of Colombo. The difficulty connected with the interpretation of various Letters Patent—which some have construed as having an

expansive meaning, implying a growing jurisdiction from within, others as indicating a fixed limit of authority—would surely be found to yield to the dictates of commonsense, so that there need be no fear of clashing between the old Presidential Dioceses of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, and those new ones which it is hoped may be founded in the near future.

We come now to the really practical part of this paper:

IX. New Sees now as to relieve the Diocese of Calcutta of immense outlaying territories, and increase the efficiency of the Church in every way? Without any doubt—though by no means supplying all the relief needed—the four

following dioceses are immediately required :-

(a). diocese of Nagpore, for the Central Provinces.

(b). diocese of Ranchi, for Chota Nagpore.

(c). diocese of Allahabad, for the North-West Provinces.

(d). diocese of Luckimpore for Assam. (e). diocese of Jeypore, for Rajpootana.

To take these in order:

The Central Provinces would form a compact Diocese, containing an area of 84,162 square miles, and a population of nearly 10,000,000. It includes the following towns: Nagpore, the capital, with a population, of 90,000,—the Bishop's seat would be there; Kamptee, Bhandara, Chanda (population 20,000), Jubbulpore (population 60,000), Saugur (population 48,000), Berhampore (population 37,000), Hushungabad (population 15,000). The country is, for the most part, a table-land. Since 1871 a flourishing mission-work has been going on, chiefly at Chanda and Nagpore; but it has sadly wanted responsible guidance and supervision on the spot. The Rev. G. T. Carruthers, Chaplain at Nagpore, was the first to arouse interest in this, till then, neglected field for Church-work; and he gave what time he could spare to the development of Native Christian congregations. He was ably succeeded by Mr. Gray; and the work is now under the direct control of the Bishop of Calcutta. But at what a distance from the immediate vicinity of the Metropolitan, whose personal visits must, necessarily, be few and far between! Some years ago an effort was made by the Scottish Church to provide an experienced clergyman as local head of this interesting Mission, but the right man has not been forthcoming; and it is now felt that the want can only be fully supplied by the appointment of a Bishop.

(b.) Chota Nagpore is a province, in the presidency of Bengal, half under English, half under Native rule. It contains an area of 43,901 square miles, with a population of about 4,000,000, and the following towns: Ranchi (population 13,000), Hazaree-bagh (population 12,000). This Province has for years been

associated with one of the most successful Missions connected with the Church in India, a brief sketch of which may here be given. In December 1844, Mr. Gossner, a pastor from Berlin, sent out to Calcutta four Missionaries. Eventually they settled in Ranchi, the chief town of Chota Nagpore proper (which is 2.000 ft. above the sea-level, and contains 7,000 square miles), and at once began mission-work among the Kols, who are the inhabitants of the district. For the first five years, that is, by 1850, they had not made a single convert; but about that time, success came in the persons of four Kols, who came "asking to see Christ," and were shortly afterwards baptised. By the year 1857, the converts numbered 700; but then came the Mutiny, and the Mission was broken up. On its subsidence, the officials and missionaries returned; and it was found that the Mutiny rather helped than hindered the work of evangelization, as the scattered Christians could tell wherever they went, just as in apostolic times, of the new religion of Christ which they had adopted. The Church was propagated in like manner, by the dispersion of the disciples which arose "about the matter of Stephen." In 1860, there were 1,400 converts, and, in 1864, the number had risen to 6,000. Mr. Batsch was recognised as head of the Mission. Outstations were soon thrown out in the adjoining districts: Hazareebagh, Manbhoom, and Singhbhoom; and churches and schools sprung up in all directions. The work so prospered that in 1868, there were 10,000 baptised converts; and it was felt that, at this rate of successful work, another generation might find the Kol tribes Christianised en masse, and that Chota Nagpore might furnish a parallel, though on a smaller scale, to the historic Christian settlement of Tinnevelli and the Malabar coast. About this time a crisis happened to the Mission, owing to the action of the Berlin Committee which might have had serious consequences. They recalled Mr. F. Batsch, and superseded his patient work by sending out younger men, with German degrees to their names, alleging that the fact of Mr. Batsch and his fellow-labourers not being University graduates, was opposed to their efficiency as Missioners. All appeals being in vain, the Kols entreated Bishop Milman to receive them and their pastors into the Church of England, fulfilling, as is believed, the death-bed wish of the late Pastor Gossner, founder of the Mission, that one day it would be connected with the Church of England. From that time the concerns of the Kol Missions have been regularly cared for by the Church, and placed under the control of the S. P. G. The Bishop at once visited the Mission, and agreed to receive the 7,000 Kols who followed Mr. Batsch; and his address delivered in the verandah of Colonel Dalton's house, was an

impressive and memorable event. Bishop Milman came again, in April of the same year, to formally receive the converts and ordain the Revds. F. Batsch, H. Batsch, and H. Bolm as priest and deacons: also the Revd. W. Luther, a Native pastor, as deacon, in the presence of a congregation of about 1,100, of whom about half received Holy Communion. On this occasion 41 Natives were baptised, and 633 were confirmed. The Rev. J. C. Whitley, was now transferred from Delhi, to take charge of the Ranchi Mission (June 1869). Next year Bishop Milman visited it again, when he preached to 1,200 persons, of whom 585 received Holy Communion. He also confirmed 255 catechumens. The district comprised by the Mission, included 300 villages, which was systematically mapped out into 35 sections, each in charge of a reader. Church accommodation was very deficient. Mr. Whitley declared that "Christianity now spreads spontaneously, as it were, among the Kols." There were 600 baptisms in 10 months. A theological class was formed, and Church discipline and organisation clearly taught. The readers were summoned to a conference at Ranchi, and the whole work became consolidated. In 1872, the Rev. F. R. Vallings, Secretary of the Calcutta Diocesan Committee (S. P. G.), joined the Mission, with which he retained connection till his lamented death in 1877, while on his voyage Home. Bishop Milman also visited the Mission the same year (1872), which was interrupted by his summons to Calcutta, owing to the assassination of Lord Mayo. Nevertheless, the work grew and increased beyond all previous experience. Churches, parsonages, schools, were increasing, in spite of all difficulties in regard to finance, and the statistics of that year show an Anglican Commission, consisting of II clergy, 6 lay-missionaries, 132 readers and teachers, 11,445 baptised Christians, 3,946 communicants, and 1,973 catechumens. In 1875, after careful preparation, 5 Natives were ordained to the diaconate. In 1874, the results were as follow: 7,496 baptised, 1,548 catechumens, 944 baptisms, and 727 scholars. The next year Bishop Milman visited the entire district, his visit extending over 3 weeks. He also held an ordination, conducted in Hindi, for 10 candidates for holy orders, of which all but 2 were Natives of Chota Nagpore. The Bishop was accompanied on this occasion by the Rev. W. H. Bray, who had succeeded Mr. Vallings as S. P. G. Secretary at Calcutta. His account of the Church at Ranchi is worth reproducing: "On waking very early on the last morning of my journey, I was astonished to see, as the most conspicuous feature in the landscape, what would be, even in England, a really remarkably handsomelooking Church. We were as yet some distance from Ranchi, but of course, it could be no other than St. Paul's Church of

that station, A nearer approach only caused me to admire it the more; and when I arrived, and looked in, and saw everything well finished, . . . I was full of satisfaction and thankfulness. The whole nave is one vast area, with nothing save the pillars rising from the matted floor, to take off the attention from the imposing-looking chancel. When afterwards, the congregation assembled, and prostrated themselves (they do not simply kneel) and joined in the service, both in that part which was said, and, perhaps, more especially in that part which was sung,-their voices blending in almost perfect harmony,-the aspect was very impressive indeed, especially when one remembered what these men were, and what they would have been still, but for the Message which they have received." The death of Mr. Vallings in 1877, left Mr. Whitley in sole charge of the Mission. In 1878, he was able to report how on June 17, a one-day's "retreat" had been organised for all the clergy, 12 in number, 10 being Natives. Such is an outline of Chota Nagpore; and it has been given at some length, because the facts here detailed seem incontestibly to prove the urgent need for the formation of the district into a separate Bishopric. Nothing more could possibly be required in support of such a requisition; and it is engaging the earnest attention not only of the S. P. G., but of Churchmen generally. The Missionary Clergy on the spot seem to be unanimous in desiring the presence of a resident Bishop. The S. P. G. is now urging the immediate fulfilment of that wish Meanwhile, the Bishop of Calcutta is urging, no less strenuously. the foundation of a new See for the North-West Provinces, at Allahabad. No doubt, these matters will be satisfactorily adjusted. At any rate, they show the hold which an increase of the Episcopate has on men's minds. Why should not both Dioceses, Ranchi and Allahabad, spring into life at the same time? Meanwhile, the Roman Church has a resident Bishop at Chota Nagpore; the Lutherans administer confirmation. whenever needed. How long will the Church of England hesitate before adopting the only policy which seems forced upon her, by the very success of the past, which demands relief and support in the present, by appointing a Bishop of her own? The Church of England in Chota Nagpore is not identified, as in Tinnevelly, with slow progress upwards from small beginnings. There were no early struggles in early days, so common elsewhere, in order to gain a footing and a hearing among the Native population. "She started at once into full possession of life and vigour, entering into other men's labours, indeed, just when those labours bade fair to win the recompense of reward." At the present time, the converts number 13,000, with 15 Native Clergy. The work is one

sufficient by itself, to tax all the strength and energy of any one Bishop. Viewing India as a whole, the increase of Native-Christians is as follows, according to Sir William Hunter, late Director-General of Statistics: 53 per cent. from 1851-61; 61 per cent. from 1861-71; and 86 per cent. from 1871-81; an increase in ratio which is largely attributable, without doubt,

to the agency of a Native ministry.

(c.) The claims of Allahabad to become the seat of a Bishopric for the North-West Provinces are no less clear, though of a different kind to those of Chota Nagpore. Allahabad itself is the capital city of an immense sweep of British territory, containing an area of 80,901 square miles, and a population of more than 30,000,000. Its position, in the very centre of India, has exceptional advantages; and it would be precisely the place to hold Episcopal and Diocesan Synods and Conferences on account of its being the grand junction for all the principal railways. When one comes to recount the numerous and important cities and districts of this Province with all their teeming populations and varied interests, it would seem that three more Bishops, at least, were wanted, instead of one to cope with so vast a work. Yet it has, ever since 1814, fallen to the care of the Metropoli-These are some of the most important places with their populations:-

Paracions.				
Saharunpore	• • •	•••	50,000	
Deobund	•••	•••	22,000	
Mozuffernuggur	•••	•••	11,000	
Meerut	***	•••	80,000	
Khoorjah	•••		25,000	
Secundrabad	•••		16,000	
Hattrass	•••	•••	24,000	
Coel	•••	• • •	49,000	
Moradabad	•••		57,000	
Sumbul	•••	•••	42,000	
Budaon	•••	•••	32,000	
Bareilly	•••	•••	106,000	
Shahjehanpore,	***		72,000	
Muttra	•••	•••	52,000	
Agra	•••		144,000	
Ferozabad	***		14,000	
Ferruckabad	***	•••	74,000	
Futtehgurh	•••	•••	11,000	
Mynpoorie		•••	22,000	
Etawah	•••	•••	28 000	
Kalpee	•••	•••	19,000	
Mhow	•••	•••	20,000	
Cawnpore		•••	114,000	
Futtehpore			21,000	
-				

 Banda
 ...
 ...
 28,000

 Allahabad
 ...
 106,000

 Jaunpore
 ...
 26,000

 Goruckpore
 ...
 52,000

 Mirzapore
 ...
 72,000

 Chunar
 ...
 11,000

 Benares
 ...
 174,000

 Ghazipore
 ...
 35,000

Of recent years, a church dedicated to All Saints, and designed by Mr. Emerson, has been erected at Allahabad, worthy, in all respects, to be the Cathedral for the new Diocese. This is no unimportant matter. The symbol of unity should be found in every Diocese, and its effect on the Native mind will be largely in proportion as its plan, services, and general tout ensemble are costly and impressive, or the reverse. At present only the chancel with an ambulatory around is permanently built. When completed, it will be 225 feet long in all, and will seat 1,000 persons. The material is red and white stone, and the style that of the 13th century. What with this excellent building, and the new Cathedral at Lahore, it cannot be said that the Indian Church is not up and doing, and has not succeeded in securing the warm interest of the laity; else, surely, such buildings as these would not have been reared. All Saints, Allahabad, was begun however in 1868, and is therefore a monument of patient perseverance. The site is peculiarly good, and the effect, when the enormous nave with its central and two western towers and spires are completed, will be very effective.

(d.) The claims of Assam to be formed into a Diocese, are somewhat different from those of the preceding cases, and rest more upon its remoteness. Yet, in point of population,—it reaches about 2,500,000,—it is comparatively small, but more than enough for one Bishop, whose labours would be largely itinerating. Till lately (and even now, it is largely so), the ministrations of the Church were but very occasional; and yet, the needs of the teaplanters have a distinct claim to recognition. It might be found advisable to detach Dacca and the districts of Sylhet, Cachar, and Chittagong from Bengal, and attach them, as being fairly contiguous, to the Assam Diocese. There are not very many large towns, the chief being Luckimpore, Dibrughur, Nowgong, Gowhatty, Tezpore, and Sibsaugor. But the character of the country, no less than its distance from Calcutta, seem to point it out for severance, and a separate organisation of its own.

(e.) Rajpootana can urge claims of yet another kind which, in each case, must be considered apart from others, and on their own merits alone. It consists, mostly, of an immense tract of country reaching from Sind to Agra, skirting the Bombay Presidency on the south, and touching the Panjab on the horth.

A great part is desert and unpopulated; but there are many towns of great importance, and the distinctive characteristics of the dominant race, the Rajputs, seem to invite more special attention than is possible to give it at present. The whole area is 120,263 square miles, and the total population, probably, about 10,000,000. The territory, from its nature, is far behind others in India in point of development and attractiveness; nevertheless, the Church will not make much headway until this huge burden to the Diocese of Calcutta is removed, and made independent. The chief towns are these: Aboo, Bhurtpore, Dungurpore, Jessulmeer, Jeypore, Joudpore, Kerowlee, Kota, Oudipore, Pertabgurh, Serohi, Tonk, and Ulwar.

If time is power, opportunity, and influence in esse, then, surely,

very much of these valuable commodities X. Time and distance. is lost, year after year, in simply getting over the ground. The time occupied in traversing the limits of the Diocese of Calcutta, as now existing, the tax it imposes on health and strength, not to mention the expense inseparable from Indian journeys, is something considerable, when considered in the aggregate. If it is so now, what must the case have been in the Episcopates of Middleton, Wilson, and Cotton, with their substantial progresses, in something of regal splendour, when as yet railways were not? People at home have often the vaguest ideas of Indian distances, and measure everything by their own experiences of swinging down to York by the Great Northern Express from London in 4 hours. Let Sir Richard Temple enlighten all such. Speaking at a meeting in Calcutta, held about the time when the new Dioceses of Lahore and Rangoon were under discussion, he said, in his own practical way: "If I may give some idea to our friends at home of the impracticable and unmanageable size of the Diocese, I would ask, what would be thought, if a Bishop in London had at one time to proceed to St. Petersburgh to hold a confirmation, and thence to proceed to Constantinople to consecrate a church, and from there to Sicily to hold an ordination, and thence, again, to Seville to inaugurate a public charity?"

Well nigh from its formation, or, certainly, as soon as its impracticable size was practically felt, efforts have been made by succeeding Bishops of Calcutta, to reduce that size.

Bishop Cotton, who frequently contributed to the pages of the Calcutta Review, urged at least the creation of a Diocese of Lahore. It is well known how the appeal was emphasised by the death of Bishop Milman, which occurred in the midst of one of those exacting visitations, during all the climatic vicissitudes of the monsoon. His successor has taken up the appeal with earnest purpose. Speaking at the

Conference held at Calcutta in January 1887, he said he wished the subject of the increase of Bishops in India could be dealt with as a whole, so that, by some such means as the Enabling Act which has been urged in this paper, the Church should feel herself free to consecrate more Bishops as she thought fit. He preferred that they should be independent territorial Sees, but, failing this, Assistant Bishops to the existing territorial Bishops; and he added: "If new territorial Sees could be created, I should regard it as a duty and a privilege to relinquish, under conditions which might seem to me to be necessary, a certain portion of the income now attached to the See of Calcutta. At the same time and place, the Conference unanimously passed the following resolution: "That this Conference is of opinion, that the time has come, when, with a view to the spiritual advantage of the Diocese of Calcutta, there should be a large increase of the Episcopate; and that it, therefore, trusts that the Bishop, in conjuction with the Council about to be elected, will give his earnest attention to this question, with a view to the most careful consideration of the whole subject, and the setting forth of a plan for its accomplishment." The Indian Churchman has also taken the matter up, and rightly declared, that the increase of the Indian Episcopate, is one of the most pressing and important matters connected with the Church in that part of Her Majesty's dominions. In fact, the Indian Church, in this as in other ecclesiastical matters, is feeling the influence of that wave of self-adjustment, which is seen by the effort now being made in England to increase the number of her Dioceses. What was formerly sufficiently effective, is felt to be inadequate now. Most generally, it is found to be true, and borne out by experience, that, given proper machinery, work will flow This is so in regard to railways, patents, inventions, anything, in short which offers increased facilities and adds to the economy and amenities of life; one and all bring work. So do new dioceses bring new Church-life and activities into operation. But there is this to be-added: we do not need new Dioceses in order to provide work; the work is already to hand, and only requires extra Diocesan machinery to give it due effect.

It is submitted that the plan sketched out in this paper, is perfectly easy of attainment, if Churchmarks.

NII. Concluding remember perfectly easy of attainment, if Churchmen will but believe in the force of enthusiasm, which disbelieves in the impossible, and both impels and incites to the accomplishment of a well-considered and fixed purpose. Did space allow, some inspiriting passages from the sermon preached by the Archbishop of Canterbury at the consecration of Truro Cathedral, on November

3rd, 1887, might here be given, as being very much in point. But one thought must suffice. Having said that an apologetic and dishonoured Church was worse than an oppressed one, he urged English Churchmen to use and claim their birthrights: they were Catholic and Apostolic. Let them rise, strengthen testablish, and found; and he referred Cornish Churchmen to the recollection of their own Saint, Henry Martyn, to whose memory the Cathedral Baptistry has been built, as an incentive to their religions enthusiasm. Surely, it is not hard to find a parallel to all this in India! If it is one of the uses of history to evoke enthusiasm, then let Indian Churchmen recall the honoured names of those who, in a double sense, have borne the burden and heat of the day, in planting and uprearing the Church of England in India. By seeing what others have brought about,-and it should be remembered that all subsequent work of whatever kind, is comparatively easy after the pioneer or founding stage has been passed,-the proper impulse is often acquired to go and do likewise. The founding of Bishop's College by Bishop Middleton, the erection of St. Paul's Cathedral by Bishop Wilson (towards which he himself contributed £20,000), the unwearied visitations of Bishop Milman. by which he may be said, almost literally, to have scoured the country from one end to the other, sparing neither body nor mind,-each in different ways exhibiting the grandeur of toil,—these things will surely not merely call forth the praise which admires at a distance, but they must have the deeper effect, of stimulating the enthusiasm of sympathy, until it takes the concrete form of united action.

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DONALD J. MACKEY, M. A.

ART. VIII.—THE MILITARY CAREER OF THE PRO-PHET MUHAMMAD, WHICH BEGAN A. H. II, AND ENDED WITH HIS DEATH A. H. XI.

SECULAR history ought to deal with facts only, and to take no cognizance of supernatural causes, by the aid of which different events are sometimes believed to have been produced, especially in connection with the establishment or promulgation of religion; but in all sacred history the supernatural element is largely represented. This is the reason why secular history claims to enlist the belief of all men, whilst religious history enjoys only that of the professors of the Faith whose origin and phases it describes. Thus, in endeavouring to trace the military career of the Prophet Muhammad, we labour under the disadvantage of only being able to draw our information from sacred sources written by the conquerors themselves, as the conquered have left no written memorials of the struggle in which they succumbed; we have not gleaned from European authors, as they had access to the same sources only.

The prophetic mission of Muhammad commenced A. D. 609 when he had attained forty years of age; but as he began to propagate the Faith secretly and continued to do so for three years successively no opposition was offered. The first manifestation of it appears to have taken place at a dinner-party at which he harangued his guests, most of whom were also his relatives, who knew nothing of his mission, and had not yet been converted, although the number of proselytes appears, even then, to have been considerable: as, besides his cousin A'ly, with his uncle Hamzah and O'mar B. Khettáb, some less prominent individuals had likewise gradually made their profession of Islám up to the sixth year of the Mission,

Muhammad B. Esaháq the oldest biographer of the Prophet, informs us that when he commenced to promulgate Islám, the Arabs neither became estranged from him nor resented it, until he spoke disparagingly of their gods; but that as soon as he began to do so, they accused him of wishing to make himself eminent, denied his assertions, contradicted, and insulted him. The enmity of the Quraysh increased in proportion to the converts in their own Qabylahs, or clans, whom they subjected to sore persecutions, so as to cause several emigrations to Abyssinia, the first of whom consisted only of 11 men and 4 women; but ultimately the number of emigrants increased to more than 80.

After the above named conversions the enmity of the Ouraysh towards Muhammad became so great, that they proposed to his uncle Abu T'áleb to accept and to adopt as his son O'marah B. Alwolyd, a handsome and intelligent youth of their own tribe, instead of Muhammad, whom they sought to kill. Abu T'áleb was, however, not only unwilling to surrender, but determined to protect, his nephew, and so disappoint their expectations, upon which they forthwith agreed among themselves, by a written covenant which they suspended in the Ka'bah, not to have any further intercourse with the Beny Háshem and the Beny Mutalleb. On learning this, Abu T'áleb convoked them, and they unanimously came to the conclusion to take up their abode for the purpose of mutual defence in the Shib or hollow of Abu T'áleb, the quarter of Mekkah where most of the family usually dwelt. Considering that friendly relations, and even family ties existed between the people within and those without the Shi'b, it is surprising that the isolation was allowed to subsist for more than three years, but at last a reconciliation was effected, the writing in the Ka'bah destroyed, and intercourse restored, in the tenth year of the Mission, after the death of Abu T'áleb, followed shortly after, by that of Khodayjah, the first wife of Muhammad.

Although in Mekkah itself the Faith took root but slowly, and Muhammad encountered such opposition in T'ayf that he returned again to Mekkah after a sojourn of only ten days, his preaching to the pilgrims who came annually to the town was more successful, and he thus gained adherents in distant places, who, in their turn, zealously proclaimed their allegiance to him far and wide. Thus matters sped, till the twelfth year of the Mission when many residents in Medinah (who afterwards obtained the surname of Ansár, i.e., helpers) paid homage to Muhammad near the hill of A'qabah without, giving in their allegiance, which, however, was exacted from them the next year, on the same hill, when more than seventy men promised that they would defend him against his foes. Finding his position in Mekkah become critical and the number of his adherents in Medinah more numerous, he considered it prudent to flee to that city for safety, the more so as a conspiracy to take his life was being formed. Some of his relatives, however, although unwilling to make a profession of Islám, nevertheless entertained friendly feelings towards him, in spite of his habit of constantly reviling their gods; so that it is not surprising that he induced his uncle A'bbas, who was a man of some authority, to espouse his cause, which he is reported to have done in the following words: "O ye Khazraj people! Ye are aware that Muhammad is our kinsman! We have protected him against those of our people who are not of the same

opinion with us about him. He enjoys dignity among his people and protection in his country; nevertheless he disregards them; as he is desirous to meet you and to ally himself to you. If, therefore, you consider that you will be able to protect him against his enemies, you may accept the burden you impose on vourselves. But if you think that you will be compelled to surrender and to abandon him after he has seceded to you, then let him alone henceforth, because he enjoys dignity and protection in his own country!" This little harangue produced the desired effect, and after an address by the Prophet himself, all present paid him homage by embracing him and pledging themselves to fight for him.

Meanwhile the Quraysh continued to ill-treat those who adhered to the tenets promulgated by Muhammad, and numbers of them were compelled to seek refuge by emigrating, before he had himself carried out his intention to flee to Medinah: some fled into the country, some to Abyssinia, others to Medinah and other places, and were henceforth called Mohajerin, or emigrants. Among those who departed from Mekkah before the Prophet, were some who distinguished themselves

afterwards, and one of them was O'mar B. Alkhettab.

A. H. I. (Began 16th July 622.)

The Muhammadan era begins with the day on which the Prophet fled from Mekkah to Medinah. This flight, or "emigration" as Moslems prefer to call it, had been long premeditated, but was not executed until Muhammad perceived that a longer delay would probably cost him his life. The Quraysh are said to have become apprehensive of trouble in case Muhammad should be allowed to depart; because, although he had succeeded in gaining over to his views a number of persons in Mekkah itself, they naturally surmised that those of them who had preferred to emigrate rather than to suffer persecution must have found protection in Medinah or elsewhere, and would join Muhammad's adherents. They convoked a meeting and resolved to kill Muhammad; but no one could be found to undertake the deed, until Abu Jahal B. Hesham, one of his own relatives, removed the difficulty by the following suggestion: "I propose that we take of every Qabylah one young, smart, strong, and respectable man, and to give to each of them a good sword, whererewith to attack him like one man, and to kill him so that we may be delivered of him; because if they do this, his blood will be divided amongst us all, so that the Beni A'bd Menáf cannot make it a pretext to wage war against us all for the blood-guilteness of a few. They will, therefore, have to accept a blood-ransom, and we shall pay it to them." This proposal was unanimously approved of.

When the conspirators were about to slay Muhammad, they forebore entering his apartment, but watched all night, after having satisfied themselves that he was in it, asleep, and wrapped in his mantle; but as the wary Prophet had taken the precaution to make off under cover of night, leaving A'ly in his bed, one can imagine their surprise on seeing the

latter get up in the moring.

No one in Mekkah knew anything about the flight of Muhammad except A'ly and the family of his companion, Abu Bekr. It appears that the two fugitives went on foot as far as a certain cave on Thour, near Mekkah, in which they spent three days, after which they continued their flight on the two camels, provided by Abu Bekr before their departure from Mekkah, and given in charge of a hired servant. When the Quraysh perceived that Muhammad had fled, they promised 100 camels to any one who would capture and bring him back. This nobody attempted to do, strange to say, except one Suraqah, who overtook the fugitives on horseback, but again returned to Mekkah, after exchanging a few words with Abu Bekr.

The proselytes of Medinah were so anxious to receive their Prophet, that they watched the road by which he was to arrive for several days with great eagerness, until, at last, their expectations were fulfilled. After a while, many persons from Mekkah also emigrated to Medinah, and as their houses remained empty, Abu Sofyan Ben Harb actually escheated some of them. This closes the first epoch of his chequered career. Muhammad was now about fifty-three years old, during thirteen of which he had propagated Islam—at first secretly, and then publicly. During these years, as may have been expected, many conversions took place, and among them was that of

Selmán the Persian.

A. H. II. (Began 6th July 623.)

This year inaugurated the hostilities between those Arabs who had made their profession of Islám, and those who obstinately adhered to their ancient faith However, no systematic military operations appear to have taken place at any time, as the primary object of both factions was either retaliation for wrongs suffered and losses sustained, or simply to gain booty. The military expeditions undertaken by Muhammad in person are variously stated to have been from 19 to 27 in number, and are named Ghaza or Ghazvah, whilst those in which he was not present are stated to have amounted to more than 50 and bear the name of Seryeh.

The various accounts about the minor expeditions are so conflicting, that it would be almost impossible to describe them

accurately; but as they are of very little importance, there is no need to attempt so thankless and difficult a task. Some authors assert that the first Seryeh was despatched by Muhammad in command of his uncle, Hamzah B. A'bd-ul-Mutalleb, to intercept a Quraysh caravan, whilst others state that it was commanded by Abu O'baydah B. A'bd-ul-Háreth, whom the Prophet sent with 60 of the emigrants to attack a squadron of the Quraysh coming from Mekkah under the leadership of Abu Sofyán B. Harb and A'kramah B. Abi Jahl, when an engagement took place, in which both parties shot arrows at each other. The Quraysh were put to flight. on which Abu O'baydah returned to Medinah. Shortly after information was received that a caravan of the Quraysh, which had gone to Syria for trading purposes was just returning. Accordingly, Muhammad despatched his uncle Hamzah with 30 of his adherents to attack it. The two opposing parties encountered each other near the sea-shore, without, however, any hostilities taking place. On another occasion Muhammad himself left the town with 200 proselytes to plunder a caravan of the Quraysh, and proceded as far as the station of Lowát, but returned again without meeting the enemy. The first engagement in which blood was actually shed appears to have been that of A'bdullah B. Hajah, who had been sent with not more than eighty followers to attack certain Quraysh who were transporting raisins and tanned leather from Tayf to Mekkah. One Vâqed B. A'bdullah, killed the leader of the caravan A'mru B. O'thmán Al-Hadramy with an arrow, took some prisoners, and returned to Medinah with the booty.

The circumstance leading to the fight of Bedr-a caravanstation on the road to Mekkah-was a Fight in the valley of caravan of the Quraysh, bringing mer-Bedr. chandize from Syria, and led by Abu Sofyán B. Harb, approaching by the usual route along the sea-coast, which Muhammad determind to plunder. He assembled 319—but, according to others, only 305—of his adherents,-80 of whom were emigrants and the remainder helpers,-with 70 camels, mounting two or three on eachhaving in all but six cuirasses and eight swords among them with only two or three horses-and determined to waylay the caravan which consisted of but 30 or 40 men. Abu Sofyán who was on his guard, having obtained timely information, hastened his march towards Mekkah and despatched Damdam B. A'mru Alghefáry to that city for reinforcements; but whilst these were got together he himself arrived safely with the caravan and informed the people that there was no longer any need of them. As, however 950, or, according to some, 1,000 combatants, with 700 camels and 100 horses, whose riders were all dressed in

cuirasses, as also some of the foot-soldiers, had got ready to march, they were unwilling to remain at home. The whole army accordingly, started towards the sea-coast. The army of the Moslems had meanwhile continued its march, and Muhammad arrived on the 16th of Ramadán (14th March 624) in the valley of Bedr, which is not far from Yambo, the port where pilgrims going to Medinah usually land. He sent A'ly with some others to reconnoitre; they met a watering party of the Quraysh, and succeeded in capturing two men, from whom Muhammad elicited the information, that the Quraysh were encamped in the rear of a sand-hill, and that they slaughtered daily nine or ten camels, from which he concluded that they must be about 1,000

strong.

The Quraysh could not have been aware of the approach of Muhammad, else they would not have allowed him to take possession of the wells; he did so, however, and probably, fearing that he could not guard them, he filled up all except one, so that his people could drink, but not the enemy. A shelter or arbour was built for Muhammad; near it his riding camels were kept ready, to enable him to flee in the event of the battle taking an unfavorable turn. The fight of Bedr took place on Friday the 17th of the month of Ramadán, when Muhammad arranged the ranks of his followers, with an arrow in his hand, wherewith he straightened the lines. Quraysh were also drawn up in battle-array, and three of them, namely O'tbah B. Reby'h with his brother Shaybah and his son Volyd, stepping forward challenged the Mosloms to fight them in single combat, when A'wuf with Mua'wned and another came forward, who, on being asked who they were, declared themselves to be helpers. To them the Quraysh replied: "We have no need of you;" while their herald exclaimed "Oh! Muhammad! send us men of our people who are our equals!" Accordingly, the Prophet ordered A'ly, Hamzah, and Abn O'baydah to step out, and three duels began simultaneously. Volyd, who attacked A'ly, was slain by him, and O'tbah by Hamzah; Shaybah, however, wounded Abu O'baydah, whereon, his two companions carried him back after killing his antagonist. This not being considered fair play by the Quraysh, they rushed pell mell among the Moslems, and a general hand to hand fight ensued, during which the Prophet was in his arbour, guarded by several helpers with drawn swords. appears, however, to have watched the contest very eagerly; for, when it became very hot, he took up a handful of gravel, and throwing it towards the Quraysh, said: "May their faces be confounded!" The enemy fled, after leaving 70 men slain, on the field and an equal number were made prisoners, whilst only 14 of the Moslems are said to have been killed.

The absence of the murderous appliances of our civilised warfare was one cause why comparatively few lives were lost in the above conflict, but there was another,—the regard Muhammad necessarily entertained for many of his own acquaintances and relatives who took part in this fratricidal struggle, for he issued orders that none of the Beni Hashem should be killed, because he believed that they had been compelled to fight against their inclination,-more especially his uncle A'bbas and Abul-Bakhtary, who had exerted himself strenuously to get the compact, suspended in the Ka'bah, destroyed; nevertheless, the life of Abu Jahl, one of the principal Quraysh Chiefs was not spared. After the booty had been collected, all the corpses of the enemies were thrown into the well; the victorious army returning to Medinah where it was received with great rejoicings. Shortly after, the people of Mekkah sent agents to the Prophet to ransom the prisoners he had made, among whom was also Ad-ul-a'asy, his own son-in-law. Zaynab, the daughter of Muhammad, also sent property to buy him off, among which was necklace given to her by Khadiyjah, her mother, when she delivered her to Ab-ul-a'asy on the wedding day. When the Prophet saw the necklace he was greatly touched, and said to his companions: "If you think proper you may send her both her prisoner and her property," which was accordingly done. Zaynab had made profession of Islam, but her husband had remained a polytheist, which was deemed a sufficient ground for separation; but as their affection for one another was strong, the wife remained with her husband, who afterwards fought against the Moslems and was made prisoner. There is no doubt that many family-ties were severed, so that relatives were often opposed to each other in these frays.

After his defeat in the valley of Badr, Abu Sofyán, the Chief of he Quraysh, made a vow, that he would neither anoint his botdy with oil nor have intercourse with women until he had avenged himself on Muhammad, for which purpose he actually approached Medinah during the same year, slew one of Muhammad's helpers, and destroyed some palm-trees to fulfil his vow. On learning this, the Prophet marched out in search of Abu Sofyán, but returned without encountering him, and this was called the Sawyq Expedition, because, forsooth, the Quraysh had thrown away most of the provisions to accelerate their flight; these consisted of flour-bags (Sawyq) which were eagerly picked

up by the Moslems.

Before starting on his expedition to Bedr, Muhammad had concluded a treaty with the Jews of the Beni Qaynuqáa' tribe, and promised not to molest them on condition of their likewise abstaining from hostilities, and aiding the Moslems against

their foes. It is related that when he returned from Bedr, the Beni Qaynuqáa' broke their promise, and desired to wage war against him; but as it is also, incidentally, mentioned that he asked them to make a profession of Islam, which they rejected, we are led to infer that this was the reason of his marching against them. They, however, did not venture to offer him battle, but took refuge in their fort, in which he besieged them during 15 days, and then induced them to capitulate. The entire garrison amounted to 700 persons, all of whom were ordered to leave the country after the expiration of three days, which they did. They travelled to Vady-ul-qará where they remained one month, and then entered Syria where they settled.

So great was the disappointment of the Jews at Muhammad's victory over the Quraysh in the valley of Bedr, that a wealthy Jew, Ka'b B. Allashraf, averred it were better he were under than above ground. He then betook himself to Mekkah to condole with the Quraysh for their loss, and being also a poet, composed various threnodies of which the following is a specimen:—

The mill of Bedr crushed the combatants,
And a defeat like Bedr is deplored!

Princes were slain around their cistern.

Shudder not! Even kings must fall.

Many a glorious hero perished there

Who gave shelter to the poor

With open hands when stars deceived;

He bore loads, the chieftain, and obtained one fourth [of the spoils].

People whose anger is joy to me, are saying:

"Ebn Ashraf is not strong in the heel [Ka'b]"

They said true. Would the earth had, When they were slain,

Split itself and devoured all its inhabitants!

May he who stirred this contest with his jibes

Live to be blind, deaf, and always trembling!

When Ka'b B. Allashraf returned to Medinah, he continued to speak ill of the Moslems and of the Prophet, who expressed his wish to be rid of him, whereon Muhammad B. Maslamah at once offered to carry out his fell purpose; but it became necessary to decoy Ka'b from the castle in which he lived, by a friendly invitation, and several men falling upon him, did him to death. After this event the Jews became so frightened, that there was not one of them in the district who was not in daily dread of his life.

A. H. III. (Begun 24th June 624.)

Abu Sofyán was anxious to avenge the defeat he had suffered in the valley of Bedr. When, therefore, A'bdullah B. Abu Rabya'h, E'kremah B. Abul Jahl, Safuwán, B. Omayyah and other

Quraysh notables also, whose fathers, sons, or brothers had fallen in the action, pressed him to hasten the day and to attack Medinah itself, he could no longer defer taking action, inasmuch as the defeated Quraysh had been promised the aid of their relatives, the dependants of the Kenánah sub-tribes and of the inhabitants of Tehamah. It, however, became necessary to despatch emissaries into the country, and Abu A'zzah who was one of them, furnishes an instance of how slender the ties of allegiance were which bound the proselytes of Muhammad to the new religion; for, this man had not only made his profession of Islam, but, being a slave, was presented with his liberty by the Prophet, and, nevertheless, proved a traitor. At first he, indeed, demurred when Sasuwan B. Omayyah said to him: "O Abu A'zzah, thou art a poet! Aid us with thy tongue and march out with us;" but afterwards, he not only consented, but went forth as a kind of recruiting agent for the Quraysh, and roaming about Tehamah, exhorted the Beni Kenanah as follows :-

> Ye dreadful sons of A'bd Menat, Ye are lions, and your fathers were lions! Do not promise me your aid for next year, Do not surrender me, surrender * is illicit.

Musafi' B. A'bd Menáf was another emissary who went about among the Beni Malek B. Kenánah instigating and inviting

them to wage war against the Moslems.

Abu Sofyán started towards Medinah with an army of 3,000 men, 700 of whom were cuirassiers, with 200 horses and 3,000 camels, and (for the purpose of inciting the men to fight), 15 howdahs containing women, accompanied the army. †

* In the original the word is *Islâm*, which here bears this meaning, and, of course, also that of the new religion promulgated by Muhammad.

Hurrah! ye Beni A'bd-uddar, Hurrah! ye protectors of the rear, Strike with every sharp scymetar.

[†] It is well known that in pre-Islamitic times the women of the Arabs used to assist the combatants by giving them water, and taking care of their wounded. They also despatched with heavy clubs any wounded antagonists left on the battle-field. On this occasion the women were particularly conspicuous. The General, Abu Sofyan B. Harb, had brought Hind the daughter of O'tbah; A'kremah. B. Abi Jahl, came with Omm Hakym, the daughter of Al-Hareth B. Hesham, whilst the latter brought Fatimah the daughter of Al-Wolyd, and Safuwan came with Barzah, the daughter of Masu'd. A'mru B, Al-a'as came out with Raythah, the daughter of Munabbih. Tolhah B. Abi Tolhah brought Sullafah, the daughter of Sa'd, who was the mother of the sons of Tolhah, namely Musan', Aljulas, and Kellab, all of whom were on that day slain together with their father. Khunás, the daughter of Málek, a woman of the Beni Málek B. Hesl, went forth with her son, Abu A'zyz, &c. In this battle the women were at first in the rear, shouting and beating their drums to excite the warriors. Hind is said to have uttered the following exclamations:

A'bbas the uncle of Muhammad, who had not made profession of Islam and dwelt in Mekkah, sent him a letter concerning this expedition, and his first thought was to fortify Medinah; but afterwards he resolved to march forth and encounter the foe, He started on the 6th or 14th Showul (the second half of March 625) with an army of 1,000 men, 100 of whom wore cuirasses: but when they had marched as far as Shawt, between Medinah and Ohod, A'bdullah B. Obayi returned with one-third of the army, henceforth surnamed "hypocrites," to Medinah, alleging

that probably no fighting would take place.

The Prophet advanced as far as the mountain of Ohod which stands almost isolated, and is three quarters of an hour's walk, or about 4 English miles, to the north of Medinah. He encamped in the village of Ohod, and the mountain being in his rear, afforded protection. When the army was drawn up in battle-array, A'kashah commanded the right, and Abu Solmah the left, wing, whilst Abu O'baydah B, Al-Jurrakh with S'ad B. Abi Vogás took the command of the centre—A'bdullah being stationed at a spot called Shekaf A'nyn on the left flank of the army with 50 archers, with orders not to budge from the place whether the Moslems were victorious or not.

Abu Sofyán likewise arranged his forces by appointing Kháled B. Volyd over the right and A'kramah B. Abi Jahl over the left wing, and placing A'bdullah B. Ali Rabya'h over the archers who were 100 in number. He gave a banner to Tolhah who was, according to Mirkhond and Khondemir, also, the first to leap out of the ranks as a champion, and was at once cut down by A'ly; but according to the oldest biographer of the Prophet, Abu A'amer was the first to come forward with the confederates and slaves from Mekkah, shouting, and throwing stones at the Moslems, whereon both armies rushed

against each other and the combat became general.

At first the Moslems prevailed over the polytheists, and, imagining that they had already gained the battle, began to plunder the camp of the enemy so eagerly, that not even the 50 archers, who had been ordered to remain at Shekaf A'nyn, could resist the temptation. As soon as Kháled B. Volyd and A'kramah B. Abi Jahl perceived the state of affairs, they assailed the Moslems from the rear, killing and

And again :-

If ye advance, we embrace you, And spread cushions out; But if you retreat, we separate With an unfriendly separation.

The war-cry of the Moslems, however, was on that day: "Slay! Slay! The Quraysh women actually fought during the latter part of this battle. and A'mrah, the daughter of A'lqamah, distinguished herself by elevating a fallen banner, round which they rallied.

puting to flight so many, that not more than 14 combatants remained near Muhammad, who had, in this battle, fought in person. Not only arrows but also stones were thrown, and O'tbah B. Abu Woqás knocked out Muhammad's lower right front-tooth wounding also his lower lip. A'bdullah B. Sheháb Azzohry also wounded him on the forehead, and Ebn Qamyah on the cheek, into which two rings of his helmet entered, so that he at last fell into one of the holes which Abu A'ámer had excavated to entrap the Moslems. A'ly, however, and Tolhah lifted him out, and Málek B. Senán, sucked and swallowed the blood from the Prophet's face. When the above mentioned tooth was extracted, its fellow dropped out likewise, so that he lost two teeth. Meanwhile the rumour spread that the Prophet had been slain, so that the Moslems rejoiced greatly

when they found he was still alive.

In this fight 70 Moslems and only 22 infidels were slain, hence both parties claimed the victory; but the former, in lieu of burying their dead, took up a position in the Shi'b or hollow of Ohod, and allowed the Quraysh women, the chief of which was Hind, the wife of Abu Sofyan, to mutilate them. These women not only cut off the ears and noses of the dead, but made necklaces, bracelets, and earrings of them, which they paraded in triumph. Hind cut a piece from the corpse of Hamzah the uncle of Muhammad, masticated, and attempted to swallow it, but spat it out again. From the small number of killed given above, it would appear, that, as the contending parties were intimately acquainted with each other, the contest was murderous only among such of the opponents as had personal grudges against each other, or where blood-revenge intensified their hatred. At any rate, Hamzah was slain for two homicides he had committed, and Wahshy, the slave, who killed him was promised his liberty for the deed by his master, Jobeyr, whose uncle had perished at the hand of Hamzah, who had also killed Hind's father wherefore she also incited Wahshy to avenge his death. Abu Sofyán tauntingly poked the end of his lance into the mouth of his cousin Hamzah and said: "Taste, apostate;" and before marching away with his army, he went to the top of mount Ohod and exultingly called on Hobal, his idol, with a loud voice:—

> The oracle has spoken true; blame not! War has different turns! This is for the day of Bedr! Arise Hobal!

After this an altercation between the opponents took place which, however, went no further than shouting at each other and claiming the victory on both sides, whereon the infidels marched away, and the Prophet sent A'ly after them, to see what direction they were taking, and it was found to be that

of Mekkah. The Moslems next buried their dead and marched in the direction of Medinah as far as Hamrá-ullasad, eight miles distant from it, where they encamped and kindled 15 bonfires to make the enemy—who was supposed to be near—believe that they were numerous. But no further hostilities ensued, and the two opposing armies returned to their respective homes.

A. H. IV. (Began 13th June 625.)

- Certain men having been sent to Nejd for the purpose of converting the Beni A'smer, met with poor success; and their chief A'amer B. Tofayl, although he was disposed to incline towards Islam when he was in Medinah, refused at home to make profession of it. A'mru B. Omeyyah, who was one of the above mentioned individuals, was so enraged at the unfriendliness of the Beni A'amer, that he slew two of them whom he found asleep by way of reprisal, and then returned to Medinah, The Prophet censured him for this, and deemed it necessary to make arrangements for paying the blood-ransom to the Beni A'amer, who being on good terms with the Beni Al Nadyr Jews, thought it could be settled through the intervention of the latter. For this purpose, Muhammad actually took the trouble of paying a visit to the fortress of the Jews, who, at first were willing, but afterwards reluctant, to have anything to do with the matter. He, therefore, ultimately returned to Medinah, whence he despatched a message to the Jews, that as they had shown themselves unfriendly, and entertained evil intentions towards him, they must, after the expiration of ten days, emigrate from the country, and that any of them remaing after that time would be killed. The Jews on receipt of this mandate were inclined to comply with his demand, but after all took no steps to do so. Therefore, Muhammad left the town and beleaguered the fortess for fifteen days, during which nothing remarkable took place, except that about ten of them, who had come out during the night—probably to go in search of provisions—were slain by some Moslems who had perceived them. As the Jews suffered from hunger, they sent out an envoy to treat with Muhammad, and an agreement was made that they should lay down their arms, and depart with as much of their property as they could load on their cattle, abandoning the rest to the Moslems. Upon which the Jews emigrated; some of them taking up their abode in the fort of Khayber, nearly due north of Medinah, whilst others dispersed in various directions.

In the month of Sha'bán (January 626) the Ghazvah of the "promised" or "small Bedr" took place, because, after the battle of Ohod, Abu Sofyán had proposed to the Moslems, that they should, on the anniversary of it, again meet, but at

Bedr. As on that occasion one of the companions had given his consent on behalf of the Prophet, the latter now marched out with 1,500 emigrants and helpers,* who had 10 horses and goods for trading. Abu Sofyán had started with an army of 2,000 men and 50 horses; but as, at that time, a famine prevailed, and he had no provisions besides Sowyq, he soon repented of his intention and marched again back to Mekkah, whereas the Moslems spent eight days at Bedr, and returned to Medinah only after having sold all their goods at full price. In this year Muhammad interdicted the drinking of wine and the verse: "Surely wine, lots, and images, and divining arrows are an abomination and the work of Satan," (IV. 92) was revealed.

A. H. V. (Began 2nd June 626.)

There is a difference of opinion whether the Ghazvah which is called Dát-al-raqáa'—either because the warriors enveloped their feet, wounded among the stones, in rags; or because their banners were ragged—had taken place during the preceding year, or this, or after the conquest of Khayber. The Prophet intended to march to Nejd, against the Beni Muháreb and the Beni Tha'lebah of the tribe Ghattafán, and went as far as Nakhl. At any rate, the duration of the whole campaign is stated not to have amounted to more than a fortnight, and the Prophet returned with his forces to Medinah, because the enemy had retired to the mountains, and watched for an opportunity to attack the Moslems when they were off their guard.

In the month of Rabi', anterior (August), the campaign against Dawmat-al-Jandal† took place; and as is the case with most of them, the historians treating on the earliest years of Islám, do not inform us for what reasons this Ghazvah was undertaken. They merely state that the people of Dawmat-al-Jandal were Christians, against whom the Prophet marched with 1,000 men, who took possession of all the cattle they could lay hands on, whereon the Christians fled, and Muhammad invested the town for several days from which he sent out raiding expeditions in various directions, and ultimately returned to Medinah.

The Ghazva against the Beni Al-Mostaliq who lived on the route between Mekkah and Medinah was undertaken in consequence of a report that their chief, Háreth B. Abi Derár, had collected a large army for the purpose of attacking the

Mohâjer and Ansár.

[†] Situated due north of Medinah. It is reached from Kusah in ten, but from Damascus in eighteen, stages. The lines drawn from these two places constitute a right angle. It is also nearly midway on a line drawn from the extremity of the Persian Gulf to that of Suez, and is the most distant place to which the Prophet ever led his forces in person.

Moselms. Accordingly, Muhammad placed A'ly in command of the emigrants as the vanguard, and gave the banner of the helpers to Sa'd B. E'badeh; the right wing being led by Zayd B. Háretheh and the left by A'kasheh B. Mahsan. The number of combatants is not stated, but it was considerably swelled by that section of the people of Medinah, who always sided with the Moslems when they hoped to obtain booty or expected other advantages; and were, therefore, dubbed "hypocrites" by them: 30 horses accompanied this expedition, as also two of the spouses of the Prophet. An encounter took place in which A'ly distinguished himself as usual, but, strange to relate, not more than 10 of the Beni Mostaliq were slain, although the number of prisoners, and the amount of plunder was large. On this occasion the daughter of Háreth B. Abi Derár was taken captive and presented to Muhammad, who gave her the name of Jubaryah, and enrolled her among the

number of his spouses by marriage.

In the month Showwal (beginning 23rd February 627) the campaign of the Ghazvah of the Ditch, otherwise called the War of the Confederates, began, when, as has been narrated above, the Beni Nadyr Jews were compelled to emigrate from their habitations, and had taken up their abode in the fort of Khayber. Consumed with vengeance against the Moslems, a deputation of 20 of them proceeded to Mekkah, where they had an interview with Abu Sofyán, which resulted in a treaty of alliance with him against Muhammad: similar covenants were also made with other tribes, which joined Abu Sofyán, who marched from Mekka with 4,000 of his own men, having 500 camels with 300 horses, together with the forces of O'yaynah B. Hasan, chief of the Ghattafán, Tolhah of the Asad, Háreth B. A'wf of the Murrah, and others who had joined the Quraysh in Mekkah, so that their army, inclusive of their allies and followers among the Beni Kenánah, with the inhabitants of Tehamah, consisted of a no less number than 10,000 fighting men. To meet this vast host, Muhammed hastened to follow the advice of Selmán Fársy, a Persian convert, who appears to have been his chief engineer, and fortified the approaches to Medinah by digging deep trenches at the foot of mount Sali'. This work in which Muhammad himself occasionally aided and encouraged the thousand emigrants and helpers engaged in it, was finished within the short space of six days. The Prophet ordered the women and children to be placed in safety in the castles of Medinah, and marched out with 3,000 Moslems, and encamped so as to have Mount Sali' in his rear and the ditch in front. His enemies were not a little astonished when they saw the strong position he had taken up.

The two armies remained encamped opposite to each other for nearly a month without fighting, except shooting arrows, off and on. The Quraysh were, however, not idle; they sent emissaries to Ka'b, the chief of the Beni Quraysh Jews, and succeeded in seducing him from his allegiance to Muhammad. They also pressed the siege of the Moslems so closely, that one of their malcontents is reported to have said: "Muhammad used to promise us that we would devour the treasures of the sovereigns of Persia and of Byzantium; but to-day not a man of us is sure of his life when going to obey a call of nature." Muhammad, on his part, also tampered with the allies of the Ouraysh, and promised the chiefs of the Beni Ghattafán that he would let them have one-third of the date-crop of Medinah if they agreed to depart with their people and would let him alone; but Sa'd B. Moa'ad blotted out all the writing of the proposed document, and it was annulled with the consent of Muhammad.

One day some of the outlying picquets of the Quraysh disThe fight of the Ditch.

Covered a narrow spot in the trenches and whipped their horses till they leaped across it, and challenged the Moslems to produce a champion to fight A'mru B. A'bd Wudd, whereon A'ly rushed out on foot and the two antagonists met. As A'mru refused to alight A'ly, in a contemptuous manner said he gave Amru his life. Stung to madness by the taunt, A'mru immediately dismounted and the duel commenced by his cutting through the buckler of A'ly with his scimitar, whereon the latter cut him down at once. Finding their champion dead the companions of A'mru fled and succeeded in crossing the ditch, save and except Nowfel B. A'bdullah whom the Moslems killed with stones in the fosse into which he had fallen.

After that the two parties continued to assail each other from either side of the trench with stones and arrows, till one day Noa'ym B. Masu'd, who was predisposed to become a Moslem, presented himself secretly to Muhammad, and made him an offer to sow dissension among the confederates, which was gladly accepted. Accordingly, when he returned to the camp be suggested to the Beni Quraysh, that if they and the Ghattafan should be worsted by Muhammad, he would not fail to revenge himself upon them when they returned to their own homes in the vicinity of Medinah; that they should, therefore, retain a large number of them and of the Ghattafan with themselves, so as to insure the return of both these tribes to aid the Beni Quraysh as soon as Muhammad attacked them. Having induced them, by such plausible pretexts to agree to his proposal, Noa'ym paid a visit to Abu Sofyan and to the other Quraysh as well as to the Ghuttafan chiefs, whom he warned not to leave

any hostages with the Beni Quraysh, as they intended to deliver them to Muhammad.

The next day, which happened to be a Saturday, Abu Sofyân informed the Beni Qurayzah, that as the confederates had been long encamped before Medinah and no more forage could be had, they ought to attack Muhammad so as to bring matters to a crisis. To this they demurred, declining to assail the enemy on their sabbath or without receiving hostages, for fear the Quraysh and the Ghattafán might depart. This confirmed the information given them by No'aym. Thus, the seeds of dissension having been sown, disputes arose, and they ultimately broke up camp and dispersed to their homes, after besieging Medinah for nearly a month. The loss of life, however, in this contest was extremely trifling, as not more than 3 confederates and 6 Moslems perished.

When Muhammad had thus isolated the Beni Quraysh he was not slow to avail himself of the advantage, gained, and promptly sent Bellál, his favourite manumitted slave, the very day the enemies departed, as a herald through the streets of Medinah,

inviting all men who obeyed the Prophet, Conquest of the Beni to march against the fortress of the Beni Quraysh. Quraysh. In this expedition the army consisted of 3,000 men with 36 horses. The assailants on approaching the walls of the fortress were greeted with a volley of objurgatious to which they were not slow in replying, the Prophet himself taking part in the war of words and calling the Jews, brothers of monkeys and of pigs. So elated was he with the success of his plans, that his tent was pitched in front of the walls, of the besieged, who never ventured to leave them except when pressed by hunger. On the 25th day of the siege, the Jews desired to negotiate, and ultimately agreed to the proposal of the Prophet that Sa'd B. Mo'ad should be made the arbiter between him and them. Sa'd had been wounded by an arrow from the Beni Quraysh in the War of the Confederates in the trenches, and being too weak to take part in the present expedition, had remained at Medinah, whence he was now brought. He decided that all the males of the Beni Quraysh should be slain, that their women and children be made prisoners, and that all their property should be surrendered to the Traditions however differ as to the number of men who came out of the fortress. Some have it there were 400, others 700, and some even 900; but whatever the number of the garrison were, they were all bound and conveyed to Medinah. In the castle itself 1,500 swords, 300 cuirasses, 2,500 bucklers with a great quantity of domestic utensils, flocks of sheep, camels, and horned cattle were taken. Ultimately, the Prophet had a trench dug, to which the garrison were led and beheaded; and it

is said that whilst the execution was in full swing, the wound of Sa'd opened, and he bled to death. The names of the two Jewish chiefs, executed on this occasion were Ka'b B. Asad, and Hyayi B. Akhtab. As his share of the booty, the Prophet selected Rayhanah, a Jewess, for himself; and she remained with him till he died, preferring to be his slave rather than to become one of his wives.

A. H. VI. (Begun 23rd May 627.)

During the last month of the past, and the four first months of the present year the Prophet rested his troops in Medinah. He then undertook various other little expeditions, and, although his force amounted to only a couple of hundred men, the fame of his barbarities made his oponents quail before them. Thus, the result of the expedition against the Beni Lehyám, is very concisely stated in the following verses of Ka'b B. Málek:—

Had the Beni Lehyam waited,
They would in their homes have met braver troops
To fill the herds with terror. These are
Foremost in battle, like stars and destroyers.
But they were rabbits: they fled into the
Hollows of Hejaz, and crawled not out.

In the eighth month of this year, namely Sha'bán, the Prophet undertook an expedition against the Beni Mostaleq, whom he speedily put to flight; but, during his return from it, an episode occurred which endangered the reputation of A'ayshah, the favourite wife of Muhammad, who was afterwards exculpated In Chapter XXIV, v. 11 of the Qorán, the case is obscurely alluded to, but explained in a footnote by Sale. During the ninth and tenth month the Prophet remained in Medinah; but in the eleventh, namely Dulqadah, he started on a pilgrimage to Mekkah, after inviting the surrounding Arabs as well as the nomads to accompany him, because he apprehended that the Ouraysh might either attack or hinder him from performing the pilgrimage. To allay distrust he took with him the animals needed for the sacrifice, and assumed the pilgrim's garb, that the people might be satisfied he entertained no warlike intentions. These measures, however, proved futile; and he was not allowed to perform the pilgrimage. As the caravan progressed, various hostile tribes visited him, and gauged the great power Muhammad had attained. Indeed, such was the veneration entertained by his adherents for his person that when a hair fell from his head, it was carefully, treasured up, and even when he spat they picked up his saliva. Moghayrah, who had witnessed these idolatrous incidents, on his return thus addressed his kinsfolk: "O ye Quraysh people! I have seen the Kesra (Sovereign of Persia) in his own country; the Qayser (Sovereign of Byzantium) in his dominions, and the Najjashy (Sovereign

of Abyssinia) in his country; but, by Allah, I have not seen the King of any nation honoured like Muhammad among his companious! Verily, these people will never abandon him at any price. Act, therefore, as you think proper."

When Muhammad had approached Mekkah as near as Hudaybyah, the Quraysh despatched Suhayl B. A'mru to his camp, in order to negotiate an armstice between the the Polytheists and Moslems for ten years and a treaty to that effect was drawn up. As the Quraysh objected to the words "Apostle of God" affixed to the name of Muhammad, he yielded the point and dictated the treaty as follows:—

THIS IS THE TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN MUHAMMAD B. A'BDULLAH AND SUHAYL B. A'MRU.

"They have agreed to cease from waging war against each other for ten years, during which time also their people shall cease from making war on each other. Should Quraysh fugitives come to Muhammad, he is to send them back; but if fugitives come to the Quraysh from Muhammad they are not to be surrendered. Enmity is to cease completely; and neither robbery nor theft must occur between the contracting parties. Any person will be at liberty, if he likes, to make a treaty of alliance, either with Muhammad or with the Quraysh."

On the ratification of the treaty the Khozáa'h rose and professed themselves to be allied to Muhammad, whilst the Beni Bekr rose and said that they would be with the Quraysh, but, nevertheless, stipulated that if Muhammad would go away this time, and defer his pilgrimage till the next year, they would throw no obstacles in his way, and allow him to remain with his people in the city three days, but unarmed, except swords, according to the manner of travellers.

The Moslems were, naturally, disappointed and vexed at this result of their pilgrimage; and, there was a contention whether it should not be persisted in in spite of the promise to the contrary. Muhammad allowed, some of the preliminary ceremonies—such as the slaughtering of victims and the shaving of heads—to be performed, and did so himself, but kept his word and returned from Hudaybyah to Medinah, after a stay of nearly twenty days. At the end of the year envoys were sent to the following six potentates with letters, inviting them to embrace Islám, namely: Najjáshy King of Abyssinia, Heraclius, the Qayser of Byzantium, Khosru Parvyz, the Ruler of Persia, Maqauques, the Governor of Alexandria, Kháres, B. Shammar, Governor of Syria, and Házah B. A'ly, the Vály of Yemámah.

A. H. VII (Began 11th May 628.)

In the month of Muharram without any previous warning the Prophet marched with an army of 1,400 men against the Jews of Khayber who were not a little surprised when they sallied

out one morning, with their hoes and baskets to pursue their daily avocations in the fields, to perceive the Moslem army. They immediately retired into their stronghold, which they defended till it was captured. It appears that the Moslems had during several days assailed the castle ineffectually, and that A'ly was either at Medinah, or took no part in the contest, as he is said to have been suffering at that time from opthalmia and headache. When, however, the Prophet requested him to engage in the strife, he complied with such ardour, that neither heat, nor cold, nor his indisposition could check it. He attacked the fort of Alqamus, planted his banner on a stone-hillock in front of it, and slew, in single combat, two or three champions, who had come out from the fort, whereon the fight became general. It is said that when his buckler was destroyed in the melée, he lifted a door from its hinges, and used it instead.

After the fort had capitulated, the Jews were told, that each of them might take his departure with a camel-load of food, but that all other property was to be abandoned to the Moslems, and any attempt to conceal any would be punished with death. Nevertheless, one of the Jews, Kenánuh B. Ab-ul-haqayq, had filled a camel-hide with gold and jewels, which he concealed; wherefore, the Prophet ordered him to be slain by Muhammad B. Moslemah, whose brother had lost his life in this campaign. The booty taken by the Moslems in the fort of Khayber consisted of provisions, cloth, and cattle. In the fort of Algamús, they found 100 cuirasses, 400 sabres, 1,000 lances, and 500 bows; one-fifth of which fell to the share of Muhammad, and the rest were distributed among the men. Safiyyah the wife of Kenánah Ab-ulhaqayq had fallen to the share of Daheyah. or he had, according to other accounts, merely asked the Prophet for her, Muhammad, however, selected her for himself, and by marrying her, made her one of the mothers of the True Beli-The Jews were for some time allowed to remain and to cultivate their lands in Khayber, but were afterwards expelled. In this campaign 93 Jews and only 15 Moslems perished.

Before he departed from Khayber, Zaynab, the daughter of the Jew Háreth, and wife of Sallám B. Meshkam sent a roasted sheep to the Prophet. Having made inquiry as to the part he liked best, and learning that it was the leg, she put more poison into it than into the other portions. The Prophet took a bite, and, finding it unpalatable, spat it out, whilst Beshr B. Al-bardá

swallowed the piece he had rejected, and died shortly after. The woman, on being called, confessed her crime, and is reported to have replied to the Prophet as follows: "It is no secret to thee, what feelings my people entertain towards thee. I said to myself, if he be a king we shall be delivered of him, but if he be a prophet he will be put on his guard."

The Prophet forgave her.

It appears that now Muhammad was bent on subjugating all the Jews he could reach, because, instead of marching from Khaybar southwards to Medinah he took a direction nearly due west towards Vády-l-qora, the Jews of which place, being aided by other Arabs, fought for their independance. The struggle lasted only one day. They were conquered and promised to pay a capitation-tax, whereon the army sacked the place and returned to Medinah.

This year the Prophet sent B. A'mru Omayyah to Abyssinia to bring over the refugee Moslems who had not yet returned from that country. He arrived with them, in two ships, during the

expedition to Khayber.

In this year the Prophet performed, with 2,000 emigrants and helpers, the pilgrimage to Mekkah, according to the stipulation with the Beni Bekr. It is, therefore, named the "Decreed Pilgrimage" (O'mrat-ulqadá) by some, whilst others called it the "Pilgrimage of Retaliation" (O'mrat-ulqesás), for the abortive one of the month Dulqadah, A. H. 6. When the Prophet made his entry into Mekkah, no excitement whatever appears to have occurred. He was allowed to perform the ceremonies, and it is stated that the people kept out of his way. His uncle A'bbas B. Abd-ul-Mutalleb permitted him to espouse Maymunah, the sister of his own wife, to whom he also paid 400 dirhems as a dowry instead of the Prophet, who now contemplated a longer stay. But the Quraysh had deputed Huwaytab B. A'bd-ul-u'zza, with several men of note to induce the Prophet to leave. They said: "Thy time has elapsed! Depart from us!" To which he replied: "What difference would it make to you if you were to allow me to hold my wedding in your midst, and prepare for you a repast, at which you might be present?" To this they would not listen, and as they persisted in his leaving he departed.

A. H. VIII. (Begun 1st May 629.)

In the meanwhile the Prophet had attained such influence, and the faith had made such progress, that many who had fought against him—and among them were men of distinction such as Kháled B. Alvolyed, A'mru B. Al-a'ás, O'shman B. Tolhah, and others—came to Medinah and made their profession of Islám.

During the first four months of this year no military operations were undertaken, but in the fifth, the Prophet sent an army of 3,000 men to Syria, which he accompanied a short distance and then returned. This army was defeated in the battle of Mutah, and both its Generals, namely Zayd B. Háre-

thah and Ja'fer B. A'bu Táleb fell in it, as Defeat at Mútah. well as some other prominent leaders. The oldest biographer of the Prophet assigns no reason why this expedition was undertaken, but others assert that it was sent to chastise Shorahbyl B. A'mru Ghussany, an officer of the Oayser, for having slain a messenger despatched by the Prophet to the Governor of Bosrah. The exaggerated numbers assigned to the Byzantine troops and the presence of Heraclius himself with them, as reported by the chroniclers, naturally palliate the discomfiture of the Moslem army; for we read, that when it halted at Mua'an in Syria, information was obtained that Heraclius, the Emperor of Byzantium was encamped at Máb in the district of Balqa with 100,000 Byzantines, who were reinforced by another army of 100,000 men from the Arab tribes Lakhm, Judám, Alqayn, Bahra, and Bály. If this be true, it is surprising that the Moslems continued to advance as far as a village in the province of Balqá named Masháref, and began to retreat only when they were face to face with the enemy near the village of Mútah. In the encounter which ensued, the Moslems were put to flight after a hot contest. No details, however, of the battle nor of the numbers slain are given, although the personal bravery of the generals is extolled; for, when the right hand of Ja'fer B. Abu Táleb, in which he held the banner was cut off, he grasped it with his left, which shortly after shared the same fate. Nothing daunted, though faint from loss of blood he embraced it with the stumps of his two arms and held it up till he was slain, when A'bdullah B. Ruwahah raised the standard till he was cut down. Notwithstanding the heroic stand that was made against such fearful odds, when the army returned to Medinah it was met with reproaches by some, but with compassion by the majority, and many threnodies were composed about it; an excerpt from one of which is as follows:-

On the morn they marched with the Believers
To death! Led by an able, blooming commander
Shining like the moon, of the race of Hashem,
Brave, and who'd spurn suspicioun of an evil act!
He fought till he fell, unsupported,
In a battle-field of broken lances;
His reward is with those who martyrs are
In paradise, with gardens blooming green.
We have seen Ja'fer faithful to Muhammad
Earnestly fulfilling all his behests.

In Islam the family of Hashem always
Furnished pillars of strength and glory.
They are the mountains of Islam, and the people around
Are they which built up the brilliant victorious hill.
To them be honour, and to Jafer with his cousin
A'ly, and Ahmed the elect and Hamzah,
And A'bbas, and many others with O'qayl.
There aloe-water is pressed out:
Through them the land is delivered in distress
From war, when the issue is narrow to the people.
They are the saints of God; He revealed His commands
To them, and they are the possessors of the Holy Writ.

As the conquest of Mekkah would have been the crown of all the previous exploits of the Moslems, and would have thrown their defeats entirely into the shade, it was brought about, thus:— After the peace of Hudaybyah, the Beni Khozaa'h sided with

The conquest of Muhammad and the Beni Bekr with the Quraysh, because they had always been at variance with each other. Their enmity

broke out afresh when one of the Beni Bekr calumniated Muhammad and was reproved by one of the Beni Khozáa'h for it. This little spark of contention rekindled the flame of war, especially after some Quraysh leaders—among whom were also Sohayl B. A'mru, Khoitab B. A'bd-ul-u'zza and E'kramah B. Abijahl having disguised themselves to aid the Beni Bekr, headed a night attack against the Beni Khozáa'h. Abu Sofján, therefore, determined to put a stop to the bloodshed by going personally to Medinah and treating with Muhammad himself, whose father-in-law he also was. Accordingly, when he arrived in Medinah, he went straight to the house of his daughter, Habybah Bint Abu Sofyán, never suspecting that her affections had become estranged from him. On taking his seat on a bed, which was that of the Prophet himself, the lady quickly began to fold it up with the remark that as her father was an impure polytheist he had no right to sit on it. Disgusted with this reception, Abu Sofyán immediately withdrew and sought to an interview with Muhammad; in which all his efforts to bring ahout a treaty proved unavailing, and he returned to Mekkah.

Either the anxiety of Abu Sofyán to avoid hostilities, or confidence in his own power which had now became very great, prompted Muhammad to make immediate preparations for the conquest of Mekkah, without, however, revealing to any one his real object. He also sent emissaries to the surrounding Arab tribes with the message that every man having faith in Allah and his Apostle, should present himself fully accourted for war in Medinah during the blessed month Ramadán. A man of the name of Khateb secretly despatched a letter to inform the Quraysh of the preparations of Muhammad; but the woman who bore

it, was caught at some distance from Medinah, and on being threatened with instant death took it out from her hair, where she had concealed it. When the Prophet asked the traitor why he had sent the information to the Quraysh, he replied that, although he was, with his life and soul, devoted to Muhammad, he would not allow the opportunity to escape, of doing service to the Quraysh, because his whole family was living in Mekkah, and might at any time be slain on account

of his defection from them.

The Prophet started from Medinah on the 10th of the month Ramadán (2nd January 630) with 700 emigrants, together with the Beni Aslamah who numbered 400, and the Beni Ka'b, 500. Gradually, however, the army swelled to 10,000 men, which filled the Quraysh with dismay. A'bbás, the uncle of the Prophet with Abu Sofyan B. Al-Hareth, and A'bdullah B. Abi Omayyah met the aproaching army, which marched a few stages further on, encamped in Marr-al-zahrán at a distance of four Farsakhs from Mekkah and countless confires were kind-The nobles who had come out of the city to reconnoitre, were now anxious to return, in order to impress the inhabitants with an account of the overwhelming forces of Muhammad, so that he might be allowed to take possession of Mekkah without resistance on their part, because of the certain defeat that would ensue. Before capitulating, however, they were all induced, partly by persuasion and promises, and partly by threats, to make their profession of Islam; and the Prophet having been informed by A'bbás that it would be good policy to distinguish Abu Sofyán, who was a very influential and ambitious chief, by some special favour, Muhammad replied: "Well, whoever enters the house of Abu Sofyan, shall be in security, and whoever shuts himself up in his own house shall be in security, and whoever enters the mosque shall be in security." These words, however, did not seem to imply that violence would be offered to persons not availing themselves of these places of security, nevertheless whilst the troops were marching into the city, an officer, Sa'd B. O'bádah by name, was heard to say:-

This day is a day of slaughter!
This day the sanctuary will be profaned!

He was, therefore, suspected of desiring to attack the Quraysh, and was summarily deprived of his command by the Prophet who exclaimed to A'ly: "Overtake him! Deprive him of his banner, and take command." On the other hand, A'bbás, also, apprehending a collision on the part of the Quraysh, took the precaution of posting himself with Abu Sofyán on a spot where he could see the whole army defiling past, so as to make it evident to Abu Sofyán that any resistance on the part of the Mekkans would be of no avail. When the troops entered

the city, Zobeyr, the emigrant, was ordered to take up a position in the upper part of Mekkah, and to plant his standard on the Hajún; whilst Kháled B. Ul-Volyd with the Beni Aslam and Ghuffár occupied the lower part, and similar posts were assigned to other commanders. Stringent orders were issued that the Moslems should attack no one, but only defend themselves when assailed. But, in spite of this humane and wise order, bloodshed could not be altogether avoided, inasmuch as E'kramah B. Abi Jahl, Safuván B. Omayyah, and Sohayl B. A'mru, with a number of malcontents, attempted to intercept the march of Kháled B. Al-Volyd, and, thus 28 of them were slain.

Although the Prophet had ordered the Moslems only to defend themselves if attacked, there were some whom he commanded to be slain, even though they should be found under the curtains of the Ka'bah. Their number was, however, small; but it appears that, after all, the lives of most of them were spared. When the town had become quiet, the Prophet rode on his camel seven times around the Ka'bah. He then entered it, and had all the idols, which were fixed there with lead, removed. He also sent out expeditions to the localities around Mekkah in order to invite the people to make profession of Islam, and deputed Khaled B. Al-Volyd to visit the lower parts of Tehamah to convert the people, but not to attack them. He, however, used violence against the Beni Jadhynah, killed several of them, and destroyed the famous idol of U'zza at Nakhlah, which was venerated by a branch of the Quraysh, the Kenánah and the whole of Mudar-the guardians and gate-keepers were the Beni Shaybán, a branch of the Beni Sulaym, allies of the Beni Háshem. When Sulmy the owner of the idol, heard of the approach of Kháled, he suspended his sabre above the idol U'zza, and leaning himself against the niche in which it was enshrined recited :-

Oh! U'zza fight and inflict incurable wounds On Kháled. Throw away thy veil, gird up thy loins, Oh! U'zza. If thou killest not the man Kháled, Retreat loaded with guilt, or become a Christian.

Thus, the conquest of Mekkah brought on the submission of many Arab tribes, save the Beni Howá'zen and the Beni Thaqif who kept aloof under the leadership of Málek B. A'wuf Al-Nasry. The number of their forces is, however, uncertain. Khondemir puts them down at 30,000, but at the same time mentions that, according to the Raudat-ullahbáb, they amounted to not more than 4,000 men. To attack these two tribes the Prophet left Mekkah with 10,000 or 12,000 men, and encountered them three miles from the city in the

Vády of Honayn, but as the roads were narrow, the forces had to march in Indian file. The enemy Fight in the Vády of who were ambushed among the rocks Honayn. first poured torrents of arrows upon the Moslems, and then, simultaneously, rushed upon them from their ambuscades in all directions, so that a panic ensued; but the first who took to flight were the Beni Selym with the cavalry of Kháled B. Al-Volyd. The panic became so general, that not more than ten persons,-and, according to some authorities only four,—remained with the Prophet whose shouts to arrest the fugitives proved ineffectual, so that while seated on his mule, the bridle being held by Abu Sofyan and A'bbás B. A'bd-ul-Mutalleb, Málek B. A'wuf actually approached him. Muhammad, however, threw a handful of gravel against the foes, whereon fortune turned, and they were put to flight! The following is said to have been recited by Bujayr B. Zuhayr on the day of Honayn:—

Had it not been for Allah and his servant ye would have fled—When fear took possession of every coward
In the valley—when our enemies showed themselves,
When swift-footed horses and loaded camels ran
Among the fugitives who carried their clothes in their hands,
And prostrated by the breasts and hoofs of horses.
Allah honoured us, and promulgated our religion.
He strengthened us for the service of the Merciful.
Allah extirpated them and dispersed their crowds,
And abased them for the service of Satan.

When we read that in this battle, in which so many thousands are said to have been engaged on both sides, only four Moslems and seventy polytheists lost their lives, we become somewhat sceptical about the actual magnitude of the forces engaged, as well as about the ardour with which they are said to have fought. But as the booty obtained consisted of 34,000 camels and more than 40,000 sheep, it would appear that the enemy kept all their cattle near the field of battle.

When the fugitives of the Bená Thaqyf had reached Táyf, they locked the gates of the town and prepared to defend themselves.

Conquest of Táyf. The Prophet besieged the place for 18 days, and was unable to take it, although Ebn Esahaq reports that he had engines. On that occasion cross-bows were for the first time used; and though the companions of Muhammad approached the wall of Tayfunder under cover of a mantlet in order to breach it; the Thaqyf threw upon them ploughshares heated in fire, so that they were obliged to abandon it. Abulfeda also mentions the use of the catapult or Manjanyq in the siege of Táyf. Failing to invest the place they destroyed all the vineyards in the vicinity, but the garrison still held out. The Prophet sent a message to Málek B.

Awuf that if he would surrender Táyf and become a follower of Islám, he would be rewarded in various ways. He complied, and obtained not only a present of 100 camels but was appointed chief over the following Qabylahs or subdivisions of his tribe who had become Moslems:—the Thumálah, Salmah, and Fahm.

In spite of the example of Málek the people of Táyf refused to become Moslems, so the Prophet was obliged to go to Mekkah where he performed the pilgrimage, but the inhabitants held to their pre-islamitic usages, whilst the ceremonies of the Moslems was presided over by A'tab Asyd.

A. H. IX. (Began 20th April 630.)

The Prophet now turned his attention to the sinews of war, and, with the view of replenishing his exchequer, sent tax
Campaign of Tabúk. gatherers in various directions for the purpose of collecting Zekát, i.e., legal alms; and of the party, only the one sent to the Beni Tamym appears to have met with a refusal. They were, accordingly, plundered, and eleven men, with as many women and thirty children, were captured, and sent to Medina, but were, on making their profession of Islám, liberated and dismissed with gifts.

The campaign of Tabúk originated from a report brought by a caravan returning from Syria that the Byzantines were preparing to attack Medinah. This campaign, in which all the surrounding tribes were invited to join, was undertaken at a time of famine; but the wealthier portion of the Moslems provided the destitute combatants with all necessaries, and the army started from Medinah in the month Rajab with 10,000 horses and 12,000 camels, but the number of men is not precisely given. Water as well as provisions being scarce during the march, and the heat being excessive, the army suffered much, and a number of 'hypocrites' who had accompanied it in the hope of speedily obtaining booty, contributed much to its demoralistation by their cowardly insinuations of impending misfortunes. A prey to gloomy apprehensions, and amidst the defections of deserters, the Prophet arrived at the springs of Tabúk where abundant water was found, and at the same time learned that no Byzantine general intended to attack Medineh. Accordingly, Muhammad returned with all his forces to the town, after detaching Kháled B. Al-Volyd with 420 horsemento attack Kayder B. A'bdul-malik, the Christian chief of Daumat-ul-Jandal. This chief happened to be hunting with his brothers and a number of other Arabs, when Kháled surprised and took him, with some of his companions, prisoner. Some escaped and took refuge in their fortress. When Khaled, however, sent a herald to inform Kayder that he would guarantee his safety, and his position as chieftain

of Daumat-ul-Jandal, and also favourably introduce him to the Prophet, if Kayder ordered the gates of the fort to be opened. He would also present him with 2,000 camels, 600 horses, 400 cuirasses and 100 spears. Kayder agreed and Kháled kept his word; but the former was finally compelled to make a profession of Islám; and a church which a Christian monk of the Beni Khozrej tribe, had constructed in Medinah itself, was, by order

of Muhammad, demolished.

During this year numerous deputations from all parts of Arabia arrived with presents, received instructions in the tenets of Islam, and propogated them on their return among their people. Although violent resistance to the spread of the Faith had now become well nigh impossible, it, nevertheless, happened that during this year certain Arabs who had not yet become Moslems assembled in the Vády-ul-raml (Sand-valley) and were reported to be preparing for a night-attack on Medinah. Accordingly, Abu-Bekr was sent against them; but retreated as the Vady was full of trees as well as rocks, and was almost inaccessible. His Lieutenat O'mar was, likewise, foiled in his attempt to dislodge them, A'ly arrived, when the three together subdued the polytheists. Now, the Thaqyfites finding they were not strong enough to fight with the Arabs who dwelt around them, came and made submissionto Muham-

mad; and made their profession of Islam.

In this year Muhammad intended to go on pilgrimage to Mekkah, but either he was apprehensive it might not be as prosperous as the first pilgrimage, or, as is more probable, his health was not strong enough to enable him to undergo the fatigue of travelling, and he refrained from doing so. Nevertheless he sent towards the close of the year, Abu-Bekr with 300 emigrants and helpers to Mekkah, in order to teach the people the proper performance of the ceremonies of the New Falth; but more so for the purpose of renouncing all treaties with those Arabs who would neither acknowledge Muhammad to be a prophet, nor become tributary to him. renunciation was to be announced by publishing the chapter of the Qurán, or a portion of it, called the Declaration of Immunity, in Mekkah; and although it is said that this chapter is the last which was revealed, it stands the ninth, whilst some believe that the fifth was revealed the last. To insure the better execution of his commands, Muhammad sent also Aly with Abu Bekr. They were to read the said chapter conjointly with the proclamation of the following four points:

"No one except a Believer can enter Paradise; No one is henceforth to walk round the Ka'bah stark naked; No infidels are to perform the pilgrimage; and, lastly, Such of them as have made treaties with Muhammad, must, after the expiration of four months, become Moslems, or be liable to forfeit their lives and property."

Had not the authority of the Prophet become paramount even in Mekkah, his envoys would never have been allowed to execute their commission; they, however, did it successfully,

and returned to Medinah.

A. H. X. (Began 9th April 631)

This is known as the Year of Deputations, because the tribes from all directions came to pay homage to the Prophet. Many of them had delayed to make their profession of Islam. as long as they found that the Quraysh were opposing it and offering resistance to Muhammad; but after he had captured Mekkah, and the Quraysh were reconciled to him, they at once came forward and tendered their allegiance. Not only were they received with pleasure, but dismissed with gifts, and were enjoined to demolish their idol temples. Musaylamah B. Habyb who set up to be a rival prophet of Muhammad and was surnamed "the liar," also made his appearance at Medinah with a deputation from the Beni Hanyfah. There is no doubt that an interview between him and Muhammad took place, but that the latter went for that purpose to the house where Musaylamah Ben Habyb had put up, as some chroniclers relate is highly improbable, as all agree that the meeting was by no means of a friendly character, and that the Prophet who held at that time a withered palm-branch in his hand said to him: "If thou hadst asked me for this withered palm-branch, I would not give it to thee." After his departure Musaylamah sent the following letter:

> From Musaylamah, the Apostle of God, To Muhammad, Apostle of God. Greeting to Thee!

But after [this preamble, I inform thee] I am thy partner in dominion! One half of the earth will belong to us, and the other half to the Quraysh, but the Quraysh people are transgressors." The two messengers who brought the letter were asked what they had to say to it, and on professing to be followers of Musaylamah, the Prophet assured them that had they not been envoys he would have struck off their heads.

He then indited the following reply:

"In the name of God, the Merciful, the Clement!

From MUHAMMAD, the Apostle of God!

To MUSAYLAMAH, the Liar!

Salutations to him who follows the guidance!
But after [this preamble, I tell thee that] the earth belongs

to God, and He bestoweth it as an inheritance upon those of his servants whom He pleaseth; and the pious will meet with a happy end."

This was at the end of the tenth year.

Although warlike expeditions on a small scale were sent out by the Prophet from time to time up to the date of his death, he joined none of them personally, and does not appear to have left Medinah except for the pilgrimage which, having been the last, was style of the "Farewell Pilgrimage." The multitude which accompanied him on this journey is variously stated to have amounted from 114,000 to 124,000 all of whom performed the prescribed ceremonies, not according to the pagan, but the Moslem fashion, which he showed them.

We have already, at the end of A. H. VI., alluded to the envoys sent to various potentates for the purpose of inviting them to embrace Islam; but Muhammad Ben Esahaq the oldest biographer narrates and gives a list of his warlike expeditions as follows: "All the campaigns of the Apostle of God in which he was present are twenty seven in number—namely, the campaigns of Waddan or Abwa, of Buwat in the region of Radwa, of U'shayrah in the valley of Yambua', the first Bedr against Kurz B. Jabr, the great Bedr wherein God slew the Qurayshchiefs, of the Beni Sulaymas as far as Kudr. The Sawyq campaign against Abu Sofyán B. Harb, of Ghattafán, i. e., of Du Amarr, of Bahrán Ma'dn in the Hejáz, of Ohod, of Hamraulasad, of the Beni Al-nadyr, of Dat-al-regáa' of Nakhl, of the last Bedr, of Daumat-al-jandal, of the Ditch, of the Bani Quraysh, of the Beni Lehyan, of the Hudayl, of the Du Qarad, of the Beni Al-mastaliq, of the Khozáa'h, of Hudaybyah, where he wanted no bloodshed but was opposed by the polytheists, of Khayber, the Decreed Pilgrimage [to Mekkah], the Conquest [of Mekkah], the campaigns of Honayn, of Tayf, and Tabúk. In nine of these campaigns actual bloodshed took place, i. e., in Bedr, Ohod, the Ditch, Quraysh, the Mustalalik, Khayber, the Conquest [of Mekkah], Honayn and Táyf." According to the same author the raids or expeditions in which the Prophet was not present amounted to thirty-eight in all.

A. H. XI. (Began 29th March 632.)

After the Prophet had returned from the pilgrimage, he contracted a malady of which he ultimately, died. At the latter end of the month Safar or the beginning of Rabi' (end of April or beginning of May), he despatched Osámah B. Zayd B. Harithah to Syria, ordering him to invade the district of Balqá and Dárún in Palestine and attack the Byzantines. The expedition was, however, delayed, because many persons considered it an insult to some of the most respectable emigrants and

helpers, whose commander Osamah had been appointed in spite of his youth. Accordingly, the Prophet went with his head bandaged to the mosque, sat down on the pulpit and delivered a brief address to justify his selection. This exhortation had so great an effect, that multitudes followed the Prophet to take leave of him and to join Osamah, who then marched out with his army; but he did not proceed further than Jurf, a distance of only one farsakh from Medinah, where he encamped, to learn what turn the malady of the Prophet would take. But he died soon after.

E. REHATSEK.

ART. IX.-EDUCATION IN AMERICA.

Proceedings of the Department of Superintendence of the National Educational Association, at the meeting at Washington, March 15-17, 1887. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1887

THE American Bureau of Education has kindly sent us three of its Circulars of Information for 1887—helpful, valuable papers. We are much obliged for them. We wish the same sort of aids to the school-master and educationalist could be introduced in India. Our Annual Reports and Government Resolutions are very poor substitutes in themselves, and apt, withal, to drift into routine statements of fact, and dry bones of formalism. Such fault cannot be found with the document now lying before us, entitled Proceedings of the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association at its meeting at Washington, March 15-17, 1887. It makes interesting reading; it is lively, and is full of information and suggestion.

Over a hundred ladies and gentlemen took part in this Conference, coming, some of them, from the farthest limits of the United States territory to assist at it. There were members of State Boards of Education, State Superintendents of Public Instruction, Superintendents of Schools, School-masters and School-mistresses, Members of the Bureau of Education at Washington (some of them ladies), the General Agent of Education in Alaska—apparently all the principal people connected with education throughout the vast dominions of the United

States.

Mr. Dawson, U. S. Commissioner of Education, prefaced his address with these words:

While it may be said that the life of a State and the preservation of its liberties depend upon the courage of the people, it is equally true that a wise administration of its laws, and the maintenance of order and happiness rest upon the virtue and intelligence of its citizens. If this proposition is admitted, then, it follows, that the education of the people becomes one of the highest duties of the State, and no subject is more worthy the consideration of the enlightened statesman.

In the United States it would appear that there is as much difficulty experienced in getting Annual Reports out with punctuality as there is in India. Knowledge of that fact may be a comfort to some of our harassed officials suffering under similar affliction. Where American men and women fall short of expeditiousness, the rest of the world may well be excused for similar remissness. We must, however, inform procrastinators

out here that Mr. Dawson does not approve of delays in his part of the world, and has determined on effecting a reform in this matter. But are haste and hurry safe indications of hard work in the world, we wonder? They are often so accounted. Here, however, is a remark to which we invite Secretariat attention:—

"One of the noticeable results of the efforts made by the Bureau to secure accuracy of statement in the preparation of the Annual Reports, is seen in the simplification of Statistics, and the tendency towards uniformity of classification in the preparation of Returns." And, of course, the value of statistics for purposes of comparison depends upon their essential conformity to like conditions. In connection with the Bureau, Miss Alice Fletcher is, we are told, preparing a Report upon the Progress of Indian civilization and education.

The Hon'ble Frederick M. Campbell, Superintendent of Schools in Oakland, California, was the next speaker, and appropriately confined his address to "Public Education on the Pacific Coast;" and good deal he had to say about it. Campbell has been connected with Schools in California for more than a quarter of a century, and is an enthusiastic schoolmaster. "The future," he said, "can offer me no higher honours than those which are to be won on this field." He is also an enthusiastic Californian, somewhat indignant that the heroes of Bret Hart's Roaring Camp and Poker Flat should ever have been taken seriously as typical citizens of the Golden State. As he says, it is very difficult to correct an impression when once it has become part of the fixed belief of a people. On the contrary, having once taken root, it is likely to grow to exaggerated size. Mr. Campbell is proud of the rich vineyards, the orange groves, the gardens full of roses and heliotrope, as well as the towering mountains, and mighty waterfalls of his native State. But he holds that it is not in any of these excellencies that the real California is found, but in its homes. and social institutions, and these have their bearing on educa-They have been unequally built up.

The pioneer of California went out, like Abraham of old, not knowing whither he went. He was essentially an advanturer—his life was an experiment. Wife, and sister, and child, if he had them, were left behind, till he should see whether a prize or a blank awaited him in the uncertain future. The whole atmosphere of Californian life has been tainted with the elements of speculation and chance.

First came the chance of finding the precious metal in the claim chosen—and to day hundreds are still toiling on, hoping ere long to "strike pay rock." The gigantic speculations of the mining share-market, that came as the next phase of this feverish life, are too familiar to demand more than the briefest mention. And, when our men began to see that Mother Earth paid to the tiller of the soil rewards as rich as those she bestowed on the successful miner, even here the same reckless spirit prevailed. The possessor of a thousand acres would hazard his all on a single crop, which, if abundant, would pay him enormous profits, rather than vary the products of his ranch—so that if drought or flood should come, something might be spared Dr. Glen had one year 55,000 acres of wheat, and loaded 12 ships.

This manner of life and habit of thought resulted in the development of intense practicalism in later generations, a practicalism opposing itself to education as waste of time; and this tradition, educationalists in California have found much difficulty in contending successfully with. It is a difficulty by no means peculiar to California, we should think; it is common rather to all the civilized world in this greedy fag-end of the nineteenth century, when wealth is the god of all men's worship, money-making their supreme endeavour, and knowledge little regarded, save as a means-to-an-end-machinery, with the help of which a good appointment, or some other of life's prizes, may be secured. European boys, Bengali boys, equally with Californian boys, leave the broad fields of culture to rush, immature and not half-equipped, to take part in the struggle for place, wealth, and power. Mr. Campbell's experience of the lads he has had to do with, leads him to the conclusion that they have ever before their eyes a seeming denial of the necessity or desirability of thorough mental training, inasmuch as they see all round them men totally without such training, and yet in possession of immense wealth, acquired through some fortuitous turn of Fortune's wheel. The new generation is in a hurry to follow their footsteps, and become rich too—quickly. Besides, in California, fortunes are often lost as quickly as they were won; and then, the son of the man who was rich yesterday and is bankrupt to-day, has to leave behind him all thought of higher education, and address himself to the work-a-day business of earning a living. Still, educationis appreciated in California, and very heartily too. The mob of vagrants and rowdies that swarmed into it in 1849. and 1850, when the gold-rush was at its meridian, had not the least idea when starting for Tom Tidler's ground, of being pioneers in the cause of education; but they became so. Recognizing the want of it in themselves, they determined that their children should not labour under the same disadvantage; and accordingly, they spent some of their gains on the establishment of schools and colleges, with due provision made for the pay of the teaching-staff and all needful expenses, with the result that, now-a-days, the boys and girls of the State are as well educated, or perhaps, better educated, than those of any other part of America. The State pays for all the educational machinery, levying an annual tax of one cent, on each 100 dollars of rateable property within its jurisdiction for that purpose. The tax amounts, at present, to about 75,000 dollars annually.

Mr. Campbell contends that the University of California really had its birth early in 1853, when one Henry Durant, a graduate of Yale College, opened a boys' school in a little room

in Oakland. Dr. Durant shall tell the story of its beginnings himself:—

The house was building. It had been roofed in, the outside was nearly finished, some of the rooms well under way, and one room furnished inside. The contractors, as I understood, were about making arrangements with some parties to let them have the money—some six or seven hundred dollars— to finish up the building, and to take a lien on the building. They proposed to get the whole property for themselves in that way. This thing had been done, I knew, with regard to a pretty good house that had been built a little while before. The builder was not able to pay for it immediately, and the contractors got somebody to advance the money to complete the house. They put into the house a man armed with a pistol to keep the proprietor away, and took possession of it themselves; and he lost the house. Knowing that fact, and not knowing, but that something of that kind might occur, I consulted a lawyer, who told me what I might do. Said he, "You go and take possession of that house. Be beforehand. You have had to do with the contractors; you really may be regarded as the proprietor of it." I came over at night, took a man with me, went into the house, put a table, chairs, etc., into one of the rooms upstairs, and went to bed. Pretty early in the morning the contractor came into the house and looked about. Presently he came to our door. Looking in, says he: "What is here?" I was getting up. I told him I didn't mean any hurt to him; but I was a little in a hurry to go into my new home, and I thought I would make a beginning the night before. I asked him if he would not walk in and take a seat. I claimed to be the proprietor, and in possession. He went off. My friend went away, and in a little while the contractor came back with two burly fellows. They came into the room and helped themselves with seats. I had no means of defence except an axe that was under the bed. The contractor said to one of the men: "Well, what will you do?" Said he: "If you ask my advice, proceed summarily," and then he began to get up. I rose, too, thenabout two feet taller than usual. I felt as if I was monarch of all I surveyed. I told him that if I understood him, he intended to move into the room. "You will not only commit trespass upon my property, but you will do violence to my body. I do not intend to leave this room in a sound condition. If you undertake to do that, you will commit a crime as well as a trespass!" That seemed to stagger them, and finally they left me in possession.

In such wise was the College School founded. Two years afterwards the first building of a College proper was erected. Dr. Durant, who had been greatly instrumental in its progress, being made Professor of Greek and Mental and Moral Philosophy, and afterwards President. It was in 1870 that the University of California opened its doors to women, and gave them equal privileges with men—the first University in America to do so. [Girton, we think, was founded two years previously. In which case, contrary to the opinion generally received, England was ahead of America in the matter of women's education.] The site of the Californian University includes 200 acres. Mr. Campbell summarizes educational outcomes in his State thus:—

The University of California is an integral part of the public educational system of the State. As such, it aims to complete the work begun in the public schools. Through aid from the States and the United States, and by private munificence, it furnishes ample facilities for instruction in science, literature, and the professions of law, medicine, dentistry, and pharmacy, in the colleges; of letters, agriculture, mining, mechanics, civil engineering, and chemistry, in the literary course, and in the course in letters and political science, these privileges are offered without charge for tuition to all persons that are qualified for admission. The professional colleges being self-sustaining, require moderate tuition fees. All

courses are open to all persons without distinction of sex. The Constitution of the State, as will appear elsewhere in my address, provides for the perpetuation of the University, with its existing departments of instruction.

The Departments of Instruction comprise the following:

I. IN BERKELEY.

I. The College of Letters:

(a) Classical course,

(b) Literary course,

(c) Course in letters and political | 5.

The College of Agriculture.

The College of Mechanics. 3.

The College of Mining.

The College of Civil Engineering,

The College of Chemistry,

2. IN SAN FRANCISCO.

The Hastings College of Law.

The College of Dentistry.

The Toland College of Medicine,

3. The College of Dentistry.
4. The California College of Pharmacy.

It is intrusted to the care of a Board of Regents, which includes the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, the Speaker of the Assembly, the State Superintendent, the President of the State Agricultural Society, the President of the Mechanics' Institute of San Francisco, the President of the University, and sixteen other Regents appointed by the Governor and approved by the Senate.

To this Body of Regents the State has committed the administration of the University, including the finances, care of property, appointment of teachers, and determination of the interior organization in all particulars not already determined

by law.

The instruction and government of the students are intrusted to the Academic Senate and the Faculties of the various colleges. The Senate consists of all persons engaged in giving instruction in any of the departments of the University by authority of the Board of Regents. It holds its meetings twice a year.

FUNDS.

The sources from which the University is maintained were derived from various sources, and include the following endowments:

1. Seminary Fund, and Public Building Fund granted to the State by Congress, The property received from the College of California, including site at Berkeley.

The Fund derived from Congressional land grant of July 2nd, 1862.

Tide-land, Land Fund, appropriated by the State.

Specific appropriations by Legislature, for building, current expenses, &c.

Gifts of individuals.

The General Funds of the University are devoted to the College of Letters and College of Science. The Colleges of Medicine, Dentistry, and Pharmacy are selfsupporting. The College of Law has a separate endowment.

The income of the University for the last year approximated \$200,000.

The corps of over 40 professors and assistants engaged regularly in the work of instruction at Berkeley, includes some whose fame, in their special lines of thought and work, is not circumscribed by the boundaries of our country. The University of California, with all its splendid equipments in every other respect, is specially rich in its unusually full, strong, able, earnest teaching force. And, after all that can be said of buildings, and apparatus, and libraries, and all the helps and aids that can be given the student anywhere, is he not, finally, fortunate or unfortunate in accordance with the kind of men he must meet as his guides and instructors? The answer to my question is expressed in the aphorism : " The teacher makes the school." A magazine article which I read recently relates of President Garfield, that some years ago he attended a meeting of the alumni of Williams College (of whom he was not the least distinguished). There was presented to this meeting of her sons, the urgent need their Alma Mater had of new apparatus and other appliances of study. General—then Senator—Garfield said, that he was fully conscious of the value of these things. "But," said he, "give me a long cabin in the State of Ohio, with one room in it, and a bench with President Hopkins at one end of it, and me at the other, and that would be a college good enough for me."

On its industrial side the College is very strong. Its latest, and most interesting, mechanical development is, provision of a large fermenting cellar, and all necessary appliances thorough, practical work, as well as scientific examination and experiment. This new departure is due to the vast proportions the Californian wine trade has grown to, and to a recognition of its importance as a State industry. At the College, again, hitherto very successful experiments are being carried on, with a view to ascertaining the character of mineral ores with the aid of a microscope. The College's Geological Museum is well stored. Moreover, there is a fully-equipped Assay Office. and a Mining Office, stocked with mining appliances, which the student can see at work. It must be allowed that the rulers of the people of California understand Strafford's maxim: "Thorough," in matters educational. The people themselves, we are told, feel that in the University they have not only a, place for their young men and young women to go to for instruction in any branch of human knowledge, but that they themselves, from day to day, at their homes, and in their business, can share in its advantages and enjoy its blessings. Without at all yielding any of its strength or its dignity, it is made a University of the people, and for them.

The need for, and great usefulness of Normal Schools is a matter that has not been overlooked in California. There is one at San José, 50 miles from San Francisco, another at Los Angelos in the southern portion of the State, ten times that distance away from the capital; for capitals do not monopolize everything good in the Western world! The statistics of the San José School show the attendance there of a greater number of normal students than any similar institution in the country, except those of New York city and Philadelphia. There are, besides, private Normal Schools scattered about the State,—by way of promoting healthy competition, we suppose. The good work done by the State Normal Schools is evidenced by the fact that no graduates therefrom are left unemployed. So much success has attended Normal-school efforts, and so large is the demand for capable teachers, that another school is being

set on foot in the northern section of the State.

Ten years ago there were differences of opinion amongst public men in California (as there always are in India) about the propriety of State-support to High Schools; and, after prolonged wrangling, it was decided in Convention that no public money should go to support public schools of higher grade than a Grammar School, and that, at all schools so supported, students should be taught the English language only. But it turned out that the amount received from the State had never been sufficient to maintain anything beyond

the lower grade of schools; and so the Convention stultified itself; whereat, Mr. Campbell chuckles. The action of the Convention, he says, "was only another illustration of that delightful inconsistency which prejudiced or unreasoning men will use. These law-makers were ready to provide for a free University, while, at the same time, they would weaken or destroy the free bridge which would carry their children from the Grammar School to the entrance of this higher education." That may be a taking argument; put there is as much, if not more to be said on the other side. If high education is worth having, it is worth paying for; and, on Mr. Campbell's own showing, parents in the Golden State were well able to pay for their children's education. To absolve them from this parental obligation, and distribute their proper burden amongst others, is apt to prove demoralizing to the citizens thus subsidized. and is unfair to citizens who are mulcted to pay the justlydue debts of their neighbours. Apropos, here is a paragraph in point from Mr. Cameron's address:

It occurs to me to remark here that, when, in the early days it finally became necessary to have schools of some kind, private schools, more or less expensive, sprang up in all directions. You must remember that money was plentiful then, and easily obtained, and Californians of those days preferred to pay for everything rather than get it for nothing. To many, moreover, the idea of "public schools" was objectionable. But all this is changed; and now, the public schools are the pride and the boast of our people.

However that may be,—and it is a vexed question that will, probably never be finally settled in California or anywhere else where high education obtains,—the majority were for maintaining High Schools by city taxation. We are glad to find that in the Far West study of the English language is made a special feature in the educational curriculum. It is sadly neglected in most English schools. The late Matthew Arnold, who had exceptional oportunities for informing himself about English school performances and pretences, used to say that he wished he could see in English schools and Colleges as much attention paid to the study of English as is given to foreign tongues. Schoolmaster Campbell's heart warms to Matthew Arnold, as a son of the pedagogic ideal Thomas of Rugby, as well as for his sound views on education. Next time Matthew visits America, Mr. Campbell hopes, he says, to show him that Californians have at least a true conception of his ideal, and are striving after its attainment. But alas, Matthew is dead! The keen critic, the trenchant essayist, the graceful poet, the 'apostle of sweetness and light,' can never more guide or beguile us with his wisdom or his mockery! Schoolmaster Campbell will mourn his loss as much as any of the many who have tried to do justice to his memory.

Indian students sometimes manage to possess themselves by questionable means of examination questions. The teachers are similar offenders in California. Last year, it seems, on the evening before the projected examination, a San Francisco paper published all the questions, and thus exploded the whole intrigue for the time being. It is satisfactory to think that frauds of this sort are almost always exposed; the mischief

is that they are not always exposed in time.

The Californian Legislative mills have lately been grinding out a new "constitution" for State Schools, of which much is expected. Previous arrangements having effected such grand results, what may not be expected of a new one, and, ergo, of course, an improved one? Novelty and improvement are pretty much synonymous in America. Meanwhile, Mr. Campbell boasts that any one going into one of the dilapidated mining towns, or into any of the interior towns in his State, will be confronted with a "White School House on the Hill." The school house is the pride of the inhabitants, whatever their surroundings or circumstances may be. A gentleman who went on a hunting and fishing expedition, over several hundred miles of the northern coast counties not long ago, to places where there are merely small settlements round saw mills, and so forth, remarked on his return, that it was matter of surprise to him, although an American, to see so many school houses. They were to be found even in places where there were apparently no residents—where only a few loggers' huts were built, and at long distances even from small villages. And they were invariably respectable-looking buildings, neat and clean, a marked contrast to many of the dwellings of the settlersthe parents of the school-children. Perhaps the exemplary attendance at them may be, in a measure, accounted for by the fact that legal provision is made for exclusive application of all the money received from the State Fund to payment of teachers' salaries in Primary and Grammar Schools. Under inducement, teachers would take pains to persuade parents to send their children, take pains to gratify the children, take pains generally with school arrangements, in order to be able to show good results. Human nature is human nature all the world over; and payment by results as an incentive to extra exertion, is a sensible recognition of the fact on the part of the educational authorities.

Good work is done in San Francisco with the Kindergarten system under the auspices of benevolent ladies. For the most part they devote time and effort cheerfully, as well as money, to this acceptable method of infant education, and withal, rescue many from the slums, and pervading atmosphere of sin and crime. They go down into the dark, noisome places of great cities and pluck from the darkness and noisomeness, the little children Christ loved, and deemed meet for the Kingdom of Heaven; and they set them on the way thither. Thirty free Kindergartens exist in San Francisco and Oakland alone. There are some twenty private Kindergartens on the coast, and all alike are superintended by graduates from good Training Schools. There is abundance of wishful, errant benevolence in Calcutta. Would to God that some of the stream might find its way to our kintals and dark places, and transplant some of the wretched children there

to Kindergartens!

Rich philanthrophists in California, who have money to give away, incline to devote it to the cause of education. James Lick's gifts thereto, aggregating originally 1,200,000 dollars, by increase in value, now amounts to 2,000,000 dollars. He devoted 700,000 dollars to the establishment of an observatory, and he made liberal gifts to the California Academy of Sciences,—and James Lick is but one out of many like-minded benefactors and well-wishers to Scientific Education in the States. The scientists who take up the work these benefactions enable them to engage in, go at it with a will; often engage in camping-trips, extending to a couple of months or more, and during this time, they never sleep in a house, and must often have to depend on their guns for food. A Mr. Sutro's gift to the University is thus referred to by President Holden:

This site is an ideal one for a seaside Biological Laboratory, where scientific research shall be carried on, and Mr. Sutro will provide and support the best aquariums in the world. These are now partly built. The site adjoins splendid gardens, in which facilities are offered for experiments in Botany and Agriculture. The library of Mr. Sutro will be, in itself, half of an university, and access to it is equally important to all the Colleges of the University. The site proposed is at the terminus of two cable-roads, and will be less than one hour distant from the City Hall.

Actual teaching must be done elsewhere, I presume; but there is no better station in the world for real research. I need only speak of the similar stations of Naples, and of the John Hopkin's University on Chesapeake Bay, to show

how much may come from such an establishment.

Senator Leland Stanford has given 83,200 acres of wheatgrowing land, the proceeds of which are to be devoted to instruction of Californian youth in every branch of industry, art, and science. The deed of trust which made this splendid property over to 24 trustees, says in its closing paragraph:

The object is not alone to give the student a technical education, fitting him for a successful business-life, but is also to instil into his mind an appreciation of the blessings of this Government, a reverence for its institutions, and a love for God and humanity to the end, that he may go forth, and, by precept and example, spread the great truths, by the light of which his fellow-man may be elevated, and taught how to obtain happiness in this world and in the life eternal.

Over and above this present benefaction, Senator and Mr. Stanford have made bequests by will to the same end. So

that the total value of the endowment is estimated at not less than 30,000,000 dollars. Comment would be an impertinence.

It is legitimate matter for boasting—as Mr. Campbell does boast—that while the people of San Francisco yet dwelt in tents, they established orphan asylums; while the Legislature was yet on wagon-wheels, provision was made for the insane; before the State had a capital, a school was opened for the deaf and blind. It maintains 165 pupils, and a yearly appropriation of 45,000 dollars is made by the State treasury for its support. Two per cent. of its pupils have matriculated at the State University, in spite of all the disadvantages under which they labour; and one of its graduates is now pursuing a course at the John Hopkin's University at Baltimore. A distinguished visitor remarked of this school: "It is the most remarkable institution in the world, and a visit to it would, in my opinion, repay a trip across the Continent."

Then, too, there are a home and school for feeble-minded children, and an industrial home for the adult blind,—a Home be it understood; not an Asylum. California has no State Orphan Asylum, but legislative appropriations supplement private charity, paying to each agency taking care of the

afflicted ones, a yearly grant for their maintenance.

We conclude our notice of Mr. Campbell's address with the following quotation:—

Among other vigorous active societies for the collection and dissemination of useful knowledge—which I can now only name,—are the Californian Historical Society, dealing with matters relating to the Pacific Coast, mainly; the Microscopical Society, with its fine library and microscopic slides; the Geographical Society, devoted to records of geographical research; the Technical Society of the Pacific Coast, devoted to the discussion of engineering topics. All of these hold meetings, to which the public is invited and freely admitted, and all have special libraries and collections. Besides the very extensive Free Library of San Fransisco, the Mechanics' Institute, the Mercantile, and the Odd Fellows, are the representative libraries; there is also a French library of 20,000 or 30,000 volumes of the choicest and rarest French books; and there are many others of a semi-public character, in addition to the hundreds of fine private ones. The best known of these last is the Bancroft Library containing everything possible relating to the Pacific Coast.

Although not directly connected with our system of public education, the work of the historian, Hubert Howe Bancroft, demands, at least, a passing notice. It certainly shows an achievement unique in the record of States and nations, when a citizen of this new State collects a library of 250,000 volumes relating exclusively to its history and that of the Pacific Coast. Many of these are manuscripts taken from the dictation, or written by the pen, of actual participants in the scenes described; and the archives of Spain and Mexico have been thoroughly searched for all the wealth of material there found to throw light on the history of the earliest Spanish settlements in America. With this library as a basis, thoroughly indexed, with a large corps of competent assistants, in a large

brick building specially erected for the purpose, Mr. Bancroft has for years been engaged in putting in permanent form the riches of this vast collection, in the shape of a history of the Pacific Countries, States and Territories, from Alaska to the Isthmus of Darien, to comprise, when completed, 39 large octavo volumes.

The next address was by Dr. Rickoff on the examination and certification of teachers. He holds that, at least, four-fifths of the teachers in the rural district schools, in most, if not all the States, are mere apprentices in the business of teaching. He thinks that a teaching-certificate ought not to be granted for more than one year; and that its re-issue should be conditional upon improvement in the candidate. At the same time, he admits that many very capable teachers have an insuperable objection to being examined year after year, and on that score could instance many refusals to accept otherwise eligible engagements. What a lot of Indian officers, in all the services, will be able to sympathize with those very capable teachers! In the discussion that followed the reading of Dr. Rickoff's address, Dr. Mowry of Boston said:

The examination should be conducted in a definite way. It should not be altogether an examination in writing upon subjects named, upon specific topics, with questions proposed; but there should be some element of this kind in it, as well as oral questions and answers. I am speaking now of the examination of what might be called "the rank and file" of teachers—the ordinary teachers, of the various schools of a large city. These are mostly women. But that should not be all. I would say that all the work which relates to the scholarship of the teacher should count but one-half in summing up. The other half should relate to tact in teaching and to matters of morals and character.

The Hon'ble H. S. Jones, of Erie, Pa. is more exacting than Dr. Mowry. Not long ago he asked a lady who wished to be employed as a primary teacher: "What can you do in the school room, madam, that another lady, equally well educated in the ordinary branches, would be likely not to do?" She did not reply, and he asked: "Can you, for example, smile naturally, and laugh heartly on occasion?" Said the poor badgered lady: "I do not know what you mean."

A discussion on Civil Service Reform—in the course of which, by the way, competitive examinations were advocated—roused the ire of Dr. Marble, who said he had no sympathy with those people, whether eminent school superintendents or others, who are so ready to decry national systems of politics and education. He went on to say:

Some months ago in Boston one of the most moral places on the earth—a very prominent official, a trusted member of the Church, a Superintentendent of a Sunday-school, perhaps even a member of the Board of Education, ran away with a large sum of money belonging to various widows and orphans. The newspapers began to talk about the horrible corruption in the community. Here was an eminent and trusted man who

had gone astray, and everything and everybody was going to the dogs! A minister preached on that subject the next Sunday, and said that he had known more than five hundred officials who had been trusted and who had not gone astray, from which he drew the conclusion, that after all there were some pretty good men left in spite of the recent defaulter. Now and then a franchise for a railway is said to be sold improperly, and the officers "bag the boodle," and are afterwards themselves "bagged" by an outraged community. That does not happen all the time, or everywhere. There are hundreds of cities where nothing of the kind has ever taken place. Corrupt "rings," and some corrupt men, exist in a few places, but they are exceptions; he believed there were, in the audience before him, a good many men with whom it would be perfectly safe to leave his pocket-book. Now, the schools—what a horrible sate of things there is in the schools-and yet parents send their children to these schools, and we do not hear them in large numbers crying out against them. When the question is discussed, as it has been here, the impression goes all over the country that the system of schools is the most faulty that has ever been devised. Its defects are often obvious enough; but after all, the public system is a good system. He disliked this everlasting outcry against evils, this constant overlooking of the vastly preponderating amount

Here is a quandary :-

The selection of school-books enables school officers to give tone to the school and colour to the teaching. Suppose, for example, that a text-book is selected in political economy which strongly advocates protection because the school officers favour that view; and suppose the teacher is a strong believer in free trade, so much so that he regards protection as a moral wrong, a kind of robbery of the many to enrich a monopoly. He cannot conscientiously follow the teaching of the school-book provided for his class; he must, then, refute the teaching of the book, and thus, in effect, violate the regulations of the school, for which he would be likely to be discharged; or else, he must do violence to his conscience, commit what he regards as a wrong in order to retain his place, and in this case he would prove himself unfit to be a teacher.

Colonel Parker of Illinois took for his subject Industrial Education in the Public Schools. He came to the conclusion that the use of tools as a part of school-work was only a form of imitation, and, as such, a very imperfect means of developing the powers of a child; whereas it is the business of the educationalist to develop the latent capacities of the child into healthful and active abilities. The original design of each child's mind should be devolped and manifested in his character,-and character is made up of habits; and all education consists in the formation of habits. Education ought not to be shaped into a means for helping machinery. Briefly, the gallant Colonel, like the author of Erewhön, does not approve of the good time coming, when man will have become a sort of machine-tickling aphid. Nevertheless, if it is the function of the public school to prepare children for some special mode of gaining a living, as severely practical people seem to think, such exercises may, with advantage, be used in it as will train them up to some special employment. But

there is a human education which should precede the acquisition of special professional or industrial skill, and which has a tendency to elevate the individual above the narrowing effects of any narrow life-occupation. This sort of human training is what John Stuart Mill says, every generation owes to the next, as that on which its civilization and worth will mainly depend; and the American school authorities are not unmindful of the obligation. As Theodore Parker once said to a convention of teachers: "To the instructed man, his trade is a study; the tools of his craft are books; his farm a gospel, eloquent in its sublime silence; his cattle and his corn his teachers; the stars his guides to virtue and to God; and every mute and every living thing by shore or sea, a heaven-sent prophet to refine his mind and his heart."

The term "practical" is sometimes applied to knowledge; but such use of words is apt to mislead: because of it we are in danger of attributing to knowledge what belongs only to power. A philosophical system of education should provide for the general cultivation of the individual before he dissipates any of his energies in pursuit of a trade or profession. We like the remarks of that President of an industrial school, who is reported as delivering himself thus:

For many years I have worked to develop the material and technical relation of education. I have sought to so direct both my own work and that of my pupils, that there might ever be an open bridge between the theories of science and the familiar facts of every-day life, that each might be better developed by constant contact with the other. It may be, that I have not worked as earnestly as I might have done; but I have not been able to discern such valuable results from handculture as my friends seem to find. I do not find that the exact construction of a box leads to the exact construction of an English sentence, but that mechanical students need as much drill in writing as any other. I have not found that students in mechanical courses were especially good in their mathematical work. On the contrary, I do find the best workers in wood and metal are those who have proved they have clear thoughts and can express them clearly, rather than those who have shown large mathematical ability. Is it not possible, in these materialistic days, we push the methods of the laboratory too far? May not the gross and material concepts gathered in the shop so stand as to obscure the clearer and exacter intellectual concepts?

It should always be borne in mind that one of the chief objects of the State in educating a child gratuitously is to render him or her self-supporting, at any rate; if possible, productive also: and handicraft-education is surely likely to further that end. The Hon'ble H. W. Compton's experiences in the matter are worth retailing:

We began, in our humble way, about four years ago in this work. We hired one instructor, a graduate of the St. Louis Manual Training School, who is a very successful instructor in this work, and our success is largely due to his efforts and interest.

We fitted up a room, which would accommodate two classes of 24, with tools and benches. We also had a recitation-room for a drawing-room. We had also a drawing class of 15 or 20 girls in free-hand drawing. The boys did in the first year, one hour a day of work in drawing, and two in shop-work, besides the

regular school-work. The interest and enthusiasm in this work are very great, and we had more applications than we could receive. We were limited to 48 boys and 20 girls. This state of enthusiasm and interest we had to modify and regulate somewhat. It was in danger, at first, of detracting from the regular mental work; but since that time we have so succeeded in adjusting the hours of recitation and hours of work in the shop and in drawing, that the system is progressing smoothly. For the first year the interest had become so great, and the practical value of the Report was so evident, that we erected a large building adjoining our High School building. This building is 120 by 60 feet, with four storeys. We have equipped that building with tools and benches, two lathes and forges, drawing rooms, and a department of domestic economy for the girls. I will simply state, then, without proceeding to explain or to argue the matter, that these boys have taken this manual training-work, drawing and shop-work, and their daily work in school, and that the greatest success and satisfaction exist. We have had a few who have failed, but they have failed in everything; and we must expect to find this occasionally. We have simply dropped them; but the great body of our students has not only become deeply interested, but has become very proficient.

School-workshops give boys congenial occupation, and keep them out of idleness and mischief. They ought rather to be called play-shops. Boys learn from them, early in life, the dignity of labour and the labourer, instead of looking down upon both. They promote discipline by generating an appreciation of order. Mr. Compton's girls do light carpentering and carving work. They accomplish their technical work with success, and their mental work with "uniformity." They can cook very palatable food. What more would you have?

Here is an anecdote which is too good to be lost:

I once heard a lawyer defending his client on the ground that he was a man of mechanical skill. It was during the war, and practical prohibition had gone into effect. We did not have corn enough in those days, and a stringent law was passed against turning corn into corn-juice. They prosecuted people for it. Now, this fellow began to furnish some of the article, and the authorities began to be suspicious; so he was arrested. When he was tried, his lawyer proved distinctly that he had made it out of persimmons, and defended him upon this ground. The lawyer said: "Now, we all need mechanical skill, and that is what we have not had, and what we must have. Now, my client has set a brilliant example. He takes an utterly worthless article and manufactures a good drink; but he does not stop at that, he has improved his invention by putting a little corn into it, and he has gone on and improved it, until he has learned to make a very respectable whisky without one particle of persimmon in it.

The United States when purchasing Alaska took over all Russia's obligations, and amongst others, the up-keep of schools. The first of these was established by Gregory Shelikoff, Governor of the colony, as long ago as 1785. There were some half a dozen common schools when the territory was ceded to the United States: a girl's school, presided over by a Russian lady, and a theological school. The course of study in the common school at Sitka embraced knowledge of the Russian, Slavonian, and English languages, Arithmetic, History, Geography, Book-keeping, Geometry, Trigonometry, Navigation, Astronomy, and Religion. The course extended over five years, and extra compensation was allowed to the teachers who secured

the best results. Englishmen are apt to think of Russia as a backward, semi-barbarian, utterly uncultured power; but we venture to assert that had Alaska been an English possession during all the years it belonged to Russia, there would have been no schools at all, unless, perchance, stray Missionaries had started one. The Presbyterians and the Church Missionary Society of England have had representatives in Alaska for some years; but do not seem to have done any thing for education there.

The common school for girls at Sitka, under the Russian regime was in charge of a lady-graduate of one of the highest female schools in Russia, with two male teachers assisting. This made five schools at Sitka; two for children of the lower class, two for the higher class, and one seminary. On Spruce Island a Russian monk kept a school for thirty years, giving instruction in the rudimentary arts and agricultural industries. Nearly all the people of Alaska were found able to read and write when the territory was taken over by the

United States Government in 1867.

We are told that a large part of the civilized population of Alaska is Russian still in its customs and sympathies, and while Washington's birthday and the 4th of July are unknown and uncelebrated, the Czar's birthday, and all Russian national holidays are kept up with great enthusiasm. Nevertheless these Russophils and Russians are, according to treaty, United States' citizens. "Therefore," says the Washington Bureau of Education, "it is the duty of the Government, through the public schools, to educate them into appreciation of the privileges of their citizenship. An important object-lesson in every Alaska school would be the Stars and Stripes. every school be furnished with a flag." Into all the public schools, with the exception of those on the Pribylov Islands, which are not under the control of the American Bureau. industrial training is being introduced with all possible expedition. We are told that as the people make progress, catch the spirit of civilization, and come under the influences which emanate from the schools, they gradually begin to give up their old methods of living, and adopt the American style. This is especially the case among the native and semi-civilized population. One by one they saw out openings in the windowless walls of their houses and insert sashes and glasses; one after another purchases a cooking stove; no longer content to eat off the floor, out of a common iron pot tables and dishes, knives and forks are procured; then comes a bedstead, and the bedding is taken from the floor; warm, comfortable storeclothes take the place of the inconvenient, uncomfortable blanket: thus, slowly and gradually, through the influence

of the schools, the population is raised in the scale of civilization.

A cynic might ask: " Cui bono?" since this rise in the scale of civilization involves expenses which the people, who were happy enough without it have no means to meet. Tables, chairs, bedsteads, &c., are doubtless very pretty articles of furniture; but when people cannot afford, and have learnt to live without them, is it not rather a cruel kindness to tempt them into spending money, or getting into debt for the purchase of things that are, to them, practically, gewgaws? Of course, if the regenerated people can be taught to manufacture the gewgaws for themselves, a somewhat different colour is put upon the business. The American Educational Bureau appears to think that they can be so taught. Still, the benefit is doubtful. Too much comfort, and consequent laziness, in those unfertile, frozen latitudes would be fatal. The special resources of Alaska are fur-bearing animals, vast supplies of fish, minerals, and forests. In that connection, it is suggested that the rising generation of young men should be instructed as to the cutting and rafting of logs, the working of saw-mills, carpentering, and coopering, boat mending and making, curing of fish, &c., abandoning their old lamps for new ones The girls, in turn, are to be familiarized with the use of kitchen utensils, and exercised in the best methods of cooking meat, fish, and vegetables, laying the cloth for dinner, and arranging drawing-There are likely to be some grotesque outroom furniture. comes of such teaching in Alaska, we take it; and, once again, we are almost tempted to ask: "Cui bono?" About moral training we are better able to agree with the American critic. He urges the necessity for it strongly, the people of Alaska being liars, thieves, polygamists, lovers of filth, practisers of witchcraft in its most cruel developments. The American educationalist's mission is to wean the rising generation from these iniquities, to purify, to exalt, to create a love for sweetness and light instead of heathendom and darkness. To such endeavour who will not heartly wish success? The Educational Board, we see, is urging Congress to make children's attendance at Alaskan schools compulsory. The argument runs, that it is of no use to establish schools for children if the children do not attend them; and the Alaskan children will not. In their own best interests, as well as in that of the State which pays for their education, they ought to be made to. At the same time it is written: "The most urgent need of the Alaskan schools is more adequate appropriation from Congress." It sounds odd to read that "a contract has been entered into with the Moravians for the establishment of a school at Nushagak."

The Educational Bureau takes to itself much credit for what

it has done in Alaska since the duty of providing for the new territory's educational needs was made over to it in March 1885. It is written:

It was a work of great magnitude, on a new and untried field, and with unknown difficulties. It was a work so unlike any other, that the experience of the past in other departments could not be the sole guide. It was a problem peculiar to itself, and must be worked out by and for itself. It covered an area of one-sixth of the United States. The schools to be established would be from 4,000 to 6,000 miles from head-quarters at Washington, and from 100 to 1,000 miles from one another, and that in an inaccessible country, only one small corner of which has any public means of intercommunication. The teachers of five schools in Southern Alaska will be able to receive a monthly mail; the larger number of the others can only receive a chance mail two or three times a year, and still others, only one annually.

It was to establish English schools among a people, the larger portion of whom do not speak or understand the English language, the difficulties of which will be better appreciated if you conceive of an attempt being made to instruct the children of New York or Georgia in arithmetic, geography, and other common school branches through the medium of Chinese teachers and text-books. Of the 36,000 people in Alaska, not over 2,000 speak the English tongue, and they are mainly in three settlements.

It was to instruct a people, the greater portion of whom are uncivilized, who need to be taught sanitary regulations, the laws of health, improvement of dwellings, better methods of housekeeping, cooking, and dressing, more remunerative forms of labour, honesty, chastity, the sacredness of the marriage relation, and everything that elevates man. So that, side by side with the usual school-drill in reading, writing, and arithmetic, there is need of instruction for the girls in housekeeping, cooking, and gardening, in cutting, sewing, and mending; and for the boys in carpentering and other forms of wood-work, boot and shoe-making, and the various trades of civilization

It was to furnish educational advantages to a people, large classes of whom are too ignorant to appreciate them, and who require some form of pressure to oblige them to keep their children in school regularly. It was a system of schools among a people who, while, in the main, only partially civilized, yet have a future before them as American citizens.

It was the establishment of schools in a region where, not only the school house but also the teacher's residence must be erected, and where a portion of the material must be transported from 1,500 to 4,500 miles, necessitating a corresponding increase in the school expenditure.

It was the finding of properly qualified teachers who, for a moderate salary, would be willing to exile themselves from all society, and some of them, settle down in regions of arctic winters where they can hear from the outside world only once a year.

To the magnitude of the work, and the special difficulties environing it, is still further added the complication arising from the lack of sufficient funds to carry it on, there being appropriated only \$25,000 with which to commence it.

The American Government is anxious that education should be pushed on in the new territory so that its new subjects may learn to speak in the tongue used by other American citizens. At the time the Report that serves us for a text was written, half a dozen alien languages were in use.

As the citizens of Alaska have no power to levy taxes for school, or any other purposes is the reason given why they look to Congress to support their schools,—the teachers formerly supplied by the Russian Government having been withdrawn, as a result of the transfer of territory. An unpromising territory, we should incline to say, in spite of the

rosy hues with such it is sought to invest the acquisition; but earth-hunger seems to be an inveterate disease in the American constitution. To it, therefore, the British possession of Canada is an eyesore and vexation. But this is travelling beyond the record.

It only remains to say that the Report now before us is embellished with some very creditable engravings illustrative of life and scenery in Alaska. Whatever straits the Educational Board may be in for provision of adequate funds for establishment of schools, payment of teachers, &c., it has "spared no expense" in the get-up of its Report. "That is American!" we can fancy Mr. Cameron saying to himself—of course, with the accompaniment of a carmy chuckle.

In what we have written above, mention is made of a work on the study of History in American Colleges and Universities by Dr. Adams, Professor of History in the John Hopkins University at Baltimore. It now lies before us, a portly volume of 299 pages, in thin paper-cover, which is bound to tear, however much trouble one may take to avoid that in-

convenience.

In a letter to the Secretary of the Interior which serves as a preface to this book, the Commissioner of Education observes that "History has been called Philosophy teaching by example, or, as teachers say, by object-lessons." Adams' book is held to be an exponent of this method. begins with Harvard, where it seems the study of History was commenced in connection with Natural Science; these being regarded as the most insignificant features of the scholastic system the College was founded to carry on. Theology was all that the Puritan founders really cared about; all other branches of learning were made subsidiary to it, and held of little account. Of what use could they be to a Puritan clergy for whose equipment for the ministry they were devised some 200 years before? Might they not, indeed, prove a snare as well as a delusion? For nearly two centuries History was relegated to an inferior, dependent position at Harvard, and not until the year 1873 was the subject placed on its own footing, and allowed to advance along modern lines.

Dr. Adams writes of the scholastic system of early Harvard:

The earliest account of the course of study pursued at Harvard College, which was founded in 1636, is in a tract called "New England's First Fruits," originally published in 1643, reprinted in parts by the Massachusetts Historical Society in the first volume of its Collections, and in full by Joseph Sabin, in 1865. The tract consists of two parts—the first relating to the progress of Missionary-work among the Indians-and the second to the progress of education in New England, with

special reference to Harvard College. The curriculum of study is described in a scholastic way, which, at first reading, is almost as confusing to a modern student as the modern elective system would be to a Puritan divine.

Among the points worthy of attention in this curriculum are: (1.) The course of study was for three years, and was arranged for the so-called First, Second, and Third Classes. The First Clasis was of thirdyear men. (2.) The attention of each class was concentrated for an entire day upon one or two studies, with "theory" in the forenoon and "practice" in the afternoon. (3) Monday and Tuesday were devoted to Philosophy, including Logic and Physics for the first year, Ethics and Politics for the second year, with Arithmetic, Geometry, and Astronomy for the third year. All this work was done in morning hours. In the afternoon came philosophical disputations for each class in its own field of study ("every one in his art"). (4.) Wednesday was Greek day for all classes. First-year men studied etymology and syntax in the forenoon and practiced the rules of grammar in the afternoon; the Second Class studied prosody and dialects from 9 to 10 a. m., and practiced "in Poesy" after dinner; third-year men did likewise in the theory and practice of Greek composition, prose and verse. (5.) Thursday was devoted to the "Eastern tongues," with the theory of Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac Grammar in the morning, and practice in corresponding Biblical texts in the afternoon. (6.) Friday was given up to rhetoric. All students were taught the principles of rhetoric, and all were required to practice Engish composition, and, once a month, to declaim. (7.) Saturday, at 8 o' clock in the morning, all the students were taught "Divinity Catecheticall," and, at 9 o'clock, "Common-places." These latter were common topics of scholastic discussion and digests of doctrine, argument, or opinion.* (8.) The last and least place in this otherwise excellent curriculum was given to History and Nature. At I o'clock Saturday afternoon, immediately after the 12 o'clock dinner, and at the fag end of the week, the students were taught History in the winter, and the Nature of Plants in the summer. Historia Civilis and Historia Naturalis were close companions in all early academic courses, and they have remained associated in some American Colleges down to very recent times. At Harvard, History and Botany were probably consorted upon scholastic grounds; but it is interesting to note that the summer season was assigned to Botany, thus implying botanical practice as well as theory. (9) The absence of Latin from the entire plan of study is noticeable, and is explained by the fact that students were required to speak Latin in the class-room and in the College-yard. Latin was the main requirement for admission to Harvard College. The rule was: "When a schollar is able to understand Tully [Cicero] or such like classicall Latine author

^{*} In the Cyclopædia of the Sciences, published at Lyons 1649, all branches of knowledge are treated under the head of Loci Communes, in special chapters, with such titles as Loci Ethici, Loci Œconomici, Loci Politici, Loci Theologici, Loci Jurisprudentiæ, etc., etc. Lord Bacon, in the fifth book (cap. 5) of his Advancement of Learning, says: "There can hardly be anything more useful, even for the old and popular sciences, than a sound help for the memory; that is, a good and learned digest of Commonplaces. I am aware, indeed, that the transferring of the things we read and learn into commonplace-books is thought by some to be detrimental to learning; . . . but, "says Bacon, "I hold diligence and labour in the entry of commonplaces to be a matter of great use and support in studying." Thus, we see the connection between the mediæval idea of a well-ordered digest of knowledge, and the modern commonplace-book or note-book.

extempore, and make and speake true Latine in verse and prose suo ut aiunt Marte, and decline perfectly the paradigim's [sic] of nounes and verbs in the Greek tongue: Let him then, and not before, be capable of admission into the colledge." Such classical preparation was given to boys by the ministers in and about Cambridge, who were well-educated Englishmen and talked Latin with their pupils. There was also by the College 'a faire Grammar Schoole, for the training up of young schollars, fitting of them for academical learning." (10) The relative importance of the various branches of academic discipline, as indicated in this original curriculum of Harvard College, appears to have been as follows: First, Philosophy (Logic and Physics, two hours; Ethics and Politics. two hours; disputations, six hours); altogether, ten hours a week. Greek came second, occupying, with New Testament Greek, seven hours. Rhetoric writing and speaking of the mother-tongue) enjoyed the third place of honour, employing six hours. Oriental languages held the fourth place, occupying five hours a week. Mathematics stood next in order, with two hours. The Catechism and Commonplaces were equally favoured with an allowance of one hour. History and Botany were put on half allowance, each with one hour a week for a half year. (11) Altogether in the scholastic week at Harvard College, in 1642-43, there were thirty-three hours of theory and practice, averaging eleven hours a week to each class. Saturday afternoon was a half-holiday except that the first hour of it was improved by the College, possibly with the hope that, after an introduction to History in winter and to the Nature of Plants in summer, students would further improve these fields of study during the remainder of the afternoon.

In the year 1839 the first Professorship in History was instituted; in fact, the first distinct endowment for that purpose in any American College. Jared Sparks was the initial holder of the office, and he is held to have developed the historical department of Harvard from classical foundations to an English superstructure. He did not attempt to disturb the ground-work already laid by generations of tutors in classical Such text-books as Adam's Roman Antiquities continued in use. Books even more specifically classical than Tytler's General History were introduced; the foundations of the historical department "were left substantially as they were laid, upon classical bed-rock." What Professor Sparks did for Harvard was to strengthen work already begun, and further, to build it up towards specialization. To his regime belongs the institution of historical requirements for admission to the Freshman-class. In 1842, having laid his foundation and made all needful, preparation he opened his masked batteries, caused American History to make, a first appearance in the Harvard curriculum; and to this specialty he thenceforth devoted his best energies.

Dr. Adams is of opinion that, in a College the functions of tutor and professor cannot be permanently separated, the practice of the German Universities notwithstanding. Even in them, he suggests, there has been, of late years, a manifest return to old-fashioned tutorial methods in the instruction

of the so-called Seminar, where professor and student are once more brought together as master and pupil. Harvard has never wholly abandoned the tutorial system since, in 1642-43, amongst "the Rules and Precepts that are to be observed in the College" it was enacted:—

"Every schollar shall be present in his Tutor's chamber at the 7th houre in the morning, immediately after the sound of the bell, at his opening the Scripture and Prayer, so also at the 5th houre at night, and then give account of his own private reading as aforesaid, in particular the third ('reading the scriptures twice a day'), and constantly attend Lectures in the hall at the houres appointed. But if any (without necessary impediment) shall absent himself from prayer or lectures, he shall be lyable to admonition, if he offend above once a weeke."

"Let the tutors drill the boys," said Mr. Sparks, recognizing and falling in with the old habitude,

Here, by way of specimen, is a Harvard Examination Paper in Roman and early Mediæval History:—

1. "It might be maintained that the whole history of a State is the record of a series of differentiations of special organs to meet special needs." Point out in detail how the development of the Roman repub-

lican magistrates illustrates this statement.

2 "The Senate, a body of life-peers, freely chosen by the people, had always been the vital institution of Republican Rome. The popular assemblies had always been insignificant by the side of the Senate; but, by the Constitution, the rabble of Rome could, at any time, take into their own hands legislation and government." Comment, in detail, upon each statement in this passage.

3. "The first Gracchus, with perfectly pure intentions, showed them the way to do this. The second Gracchus formed this city rabble into a standing army of revolution." Show, as clearly as you can, the relations

of the Gracchi to the Revolution.

4. "It was the necessity of defending the State against its foreign enemies that caused the fall of republican institutions. It was not aristocratic privilege, but aristocratic feebleness, that the people rebelled against. The two parties at last were the Senate and the army." Illustrate fully these statements from the history of the last century of the Republic.

5. "In the place of anarchy the Empire brought centralization and responsibility. To the Roman world it gave internal tranquillity; to the government, a more equitable spirit." Give an account of the Imperial

institutions which will show how these ends were accomplished.

6. "It would be a convenient thing if we could accustom ourselves to the notion of a second Roman Revolution, beginning with the death of Marcus Aurelius and ending with the accession of Diocletian. In the convulsions of this revolutionary period, we are able to discern the difficulties with which the Imperial system had to cope." Illustrate this pas-

sage fully from the history of the period.

7. "Rome was saved by Diocletian from partition among viceroys; but it was a temporary arrangement, and gave place to the permanent institutions of Constantine. The Empire was no longer Roman by nationality, nor in the sense of possessing the political institutions which had originally belonged to Rome. The Senate, as an organ of aristocratic opinion, had pratically disappeared, and the life-president had become a Sultan. A principal feature of this age is the enormous multiplication

of offices and officials, a bureaucracy formed after the military model.'

Explain each of these statements in detail.

8. "In the age of the degenerate sons of Theodosius, the barbaric world decisively encroaches on the Roman. The Empire is plundered under cover of a commission from the Emperor himself. Rome is sacked. Most of Gaul, Spain, and Africa are torn from the Empire. Barbaric chieftains make and unmake the Emperors of the West." Give a succinct account of the series of events here alluded to.

The historical method is given prominence to in the Economic courses at Harvard. Advanced studyand original research in Economics are encouraged, and conspicuous progress has been made by the Economic Department in the development of class-room libraries. A quarterly journal of Economics is published by the College. It strives after impartiality not being an organ devoted to any particular school of opinion. It disclaims alike conservatism and radicalism, orthodoxy and heterodoxy, English proclivities and German. It is simply an American Journal of Economic Science, holding fast to what it conceives to be the best ideas in Economic Science, and, at the same time, always ready to accept new lights, while it maintains the due comity between history and

its more particular function. It has been well said that, what the laboratory is to Physical Science, that the library must be to Moral Science. Harvard has a well-stored, judiciously-selected library, and the collegians make a liberal use of it. It is especially well provided with records of American history. Every possible effort, in fact, seems to be made to imbue rising generations of Americans with patriotism. There is a Harvard Historical Society, described as a novel combination of youth, early manhood, and ripened experience. The purpose of this Society is discussion of original historical papers, and the fostering of public interest in historical subjects by the occasional delivery of a public lecture, to which end specialists are occasionally invited to Cambridge. After listening to a formal lecture, the audience is often invited to some Professor's house for the informal discussion of other subjects; the social

element being cultivated.

Dr. Adams highly commends a Narrative and Critical History of America, edited by Mr. Justin Winsor, the Librarian at Harvard. Its scope is wide, embracing Canada, Mexico, Central and South America and the West Indies, as well as the United States. "To represent economic and republican principles in the very constitution of American history is Mr. Winsor's conspicuous merit, and Harvard's greatest honour," Dr. Adams thinks. But one fails to see any necessary connection between republican principles and economy, and we should be sorry to regard any such hocus pocus as Harvard's

"greatest honour." The grand old foundation has far higher claims to our respect, we take it, and is honoured for more substantial achievements.

Dr. Adams surmises that the study of history, in some form or other, whether Biblical or Classical, may have been introduced into the curriculum of Yale College in its earliest years; but the first formal recognition of the subject was the appointment of President Stiles to a professorship of Ecclesiastical History in 1778. The regular courses of instruction at Yale were not printed until 1822, and there is no available record of the standing of historical studies before that time. Judging from the actual status in that year, our author thinks that considerable attention must have been given to Classical History, through the medium of ancient historians, and of Adam's Roman Antiquities. Yale has always favoured the Classical. An ex-collegian, who can speak from personal experience as to collegiate matters between 1820 and 1830, says:

The amount of classical reading in those days was vastly greater than it is at present. In them were accomplished all of the two large volumes of Dazell's Graca Majora, embracing Xenophon's Anabasis and Memorabilia, with large extracts from Herodotus, Thucydides Lysias, and Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and Longinus and the poets Sophocles and Euripides. And to this are to be added several books of Homer's Iliad, and the Oration of Demosthenes on the Crown. In Latin the reading embraced eight books of Livy's History; the entire volume of the Poetical Works of Horace, including the Odes, Satires, Epistles, and the Art of Poetry; Cicero de Officiis, de Senectute, de Amicitia, de Oratore, and de Republica; and, finally, Tacitus, the History Agricola, and De Moribus Germanorum. And besides this, the whole of Adam's Roman Antiquities was read, from cover to cover."

One of the best outcomes of Yale's classicalism in relation to history, was the encouragement given to the study of

Roman Law from a historical point of view.

Columbia College, New York, was the first College in American to provide a professor's chair for History. The Institution was founded in 1754 under the patronage of George the Second, and was dubbed King's College. Arrangements appear to have been made in the original Faculty of Arts for the teaching of Law and History. Anthon was a Professor at this College for nearly fifty years. He recommended the creation of a Professorship of History, quite distinct from the other departments, and his recommendation was carried into effect in 1857. Columbia College has provided a special room for its library of History and Political Science, numbering about 15,000 volumes. The Librarian is a strict disciplinarian, and admits to his treasure-house only those who have scholarly business there; he knows his books by heart, and where to lay hands on any that may be needed, without consulting a catalogue. Truly a model librarian! It is a pity there are not more like him!

"The University of Michigan," said President Haven in his inaugural address, "is the oldest, largest, and most flourishing of the class of institutions that may rightly be regarded as State Universities." This bounce was uttered in 1863, and is as true at the present time as it was then. It was in 1817 that an Act was passed by the Territorial Government, establishing the "University of Michigania," and providing for thirteen Professorships, including one for the Historical Sciences, or diegetica as they were called in the Act. A Scotch Presbyterian Minister, John Monteith, was given six Professorships in addition to the Presidency, and Gabriel Richard, the Roman Catholic Bishop of the territory, took the six remaining chairs. It is suggested that the arrangement was, at least, an augury of wide religious toleration. It seems to us that it was a proof, on

its purely professorial side, of religious jealousy.

In 1821 this preliminary organization was repealed and a Board of twenty-one trustees, including the Scotch parson and the Catholic bishop, was appointed by the Territorial Legislature, with full powers to organize the University; but the Territory had no ready money for the encouragement of higher education. The University lands had not yet been selected. The choice of a township was so restricted, that good lands could not be found in one block. Again Congress came to the aid of a hard up educational cause, and in 1826 granted two townships in place of one, with the privilege of selecting the entire amount of land in detached portions from any part of the public domain in Michigan not already granted. Upon this generous provision, and upon the good choice made of lands, rests the national endowment of the University of

Michigan.

Michigan was admitted into the Union in 1836, and there, withal a State policy of education was inaugurated and modelled on the Prussian system. The earliest catalogues of the University of Michigan show no provision for the teaching of History beyond the traditional course in Greek and Roman Antiquities, in connection with the Classical Department. The Philosophy of History is set down in those for 1846. Requirements in history for admission to the University are mentioned in 1848.—Keightley's Grecian History to the time of Alexander the Great, and Roman History to the time of the Empire. Ancient History was taught for one term of the freshmanyear; the History of the Middle Ages for one term of the junior-year: so things went on till 1855, when a special department of History and English Literature was initiated. Two years afterwards Mr. Andrew D. White was placed at the head of it. Scotchmen will be pleased to hear that his fondness for historical study was engendered by reading

Walter Scott's novels. It is said that the effect of Mr. White's historical lectures was most remarkable; Dr. Adams waxes enthusiastic over it. Thus:

It was like the coming of the Greek Chrysoloras from Constantinople to Florence, from the East to the West. The American Professor brought the Renaissance to a new world, to the great North-west. He came in the first flush of early manhood from the great centres of European culture and politics. He felt the joy of existence, the stir of the world. His lectures communicated his own feeling to the students of the University. All felt as Ulrich von Hutten, the humanist, said of the revival of learning: "Minds are awakening; studies are blooming; it is a joy to live."

To students entering the University without preparation, Mr. White used to recommend acquaintance with the following works:

Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Grote's History of Greece Arnold's History of Rome Merivale's History of Rome

Merivale's Rome under the Cæsars,

Since 1877 Michigan has been adding to its library at the rate of 3,000 volumes annually. A fine new library-building, which cost something over 85,000 dollars, was opened in December 1883. The student newspaper, The Chronicle, constantly urges the Regents to buy more books. A Museum of History and the Fine Arts was begun in 1855, and purchases of plaster-casts of ancient statues, engravings, photographs, &c., have been made in Europe for the illustration of lectures on Classical Art and and antiquities. These have since been added to, both by purchase and gift. Especially interesting to students of history is the Horace White collection of 900 portrait-medallions, illustrative of mediæval and modern history. The experience of German Universities attests the educational value of such collections. It has been said that Harvard grew upon a collection of books, Michigan on a foundation of land; but books and art studies have quickened it into higher life. Our author writes that the new library and its new treasures have given strength to every department, but especially to the departments of Historical and Political Science, which were planted anew in library soil, where they began to flourish as they never had done before.

Cornell University is referred to as "institutionally speaking the offspring of Michigan." It is specially a scientific and industrial seat of learning; but there is a chair devoted to History and Political Science. On the invitation of its incumbent, Mr. Goldwin Smith, a few years ago, delivered lectures on the General and Constitutional History of England. Other notabilities are, from time to time, engaged to lecture on various

historical subjects, and, in connection with the lectures, students are expected to make frequent use of the University Library, which is well supplied with works on Ancient, English, and General History. President White has firm faith in the efficacy of studies in these subjects, and in the History of Civilization. Here is an Examination Paper set by him.

1. Give some account of Bruneleschi and his connection with the history of Florentine Art.

2. Sketch the cause of the decline of Art after Michael Angelo and Raphael.

3. Give a brief account of the Colloquies of Erasmus. Name some of them. State the resemblances between Erasmus and Voltaire.

4. Give the main features of the struggle between the Obscurantists and Humanists,* with an account of the part taken by Pfefferkorn.

5. Give the dates of Charles V.'s accession to the thrones of Spain and Germany. What was his title as king of Spain?

6. Give a short account of the attempt made by Charles V. on one side and Francis I. on the other, to secure the alliance of Henry VIII.

7. What was the League of Schmalkalden? What was the peace of Passau, and when?

8. State the effect of the war between Charles V. and Joseph I. on Protestantism in Germany.

9. Give the names of Loyola's principal associates in founding the Order of the Jesuits.

10. State the part taken by Lainez in the Council of Trent.

11. Give the date of the beginning of the Council of Trent. Where is Trent?

12. Describe the connection of Wallenstein with the Thirty Years' War.
13. What is Cardinal Richelieu's relation to the history of religious

toleration?†

14. What struggle was going on in England at the time of the Froude?

15. Name the two religious orders founded by St. Vincent de Paul.

16. Name the chief political opponents in Europe of Louis XIV. What were Les Chambres de la Réunion?

17. Give the main points in the connection of John Law with the French Government.

In 1872-73 James Anthony Froude gave a course of lectures at Cornell on the study of English history. The first foundations for a chair of American history were laid at Cornell in 1871-72. Professor George Washington Greene was the first incumbent. Here is one of his Examination Papers:—

1. What four nations laid claim to the territories which ultimately became the United States?

2. Upon what principle did each found its claim?

3. What was the original object of the colonization of Virginia?

and events of his time. The foundation of his collection was made by Mr. George P. Philes of New York." A complete catalogue of Mr. White's library has been made by Mr. Burr.

† The last five topics belong properly to the special course on French history, as shown in the reviewer's readjustment of the syllabus, but it is evident that Mr White worked out his earlier lectures on French History as part of his general course, and then added special courses on the greater States of Continental Europe, including supplementary lectures on France.

Among the most original and interesting of Mr. White's literary collections are, "pamphlets, tracts, and ephemeral writings issued during the first period of the Obscurantist and Humanist struggles, at the close of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, the nucleus of which was made by D. Simon, of Beriln." Mr. White also mentions in the preface to his syllabus. "A collection of original materials bearing upon the latter part of the same struggle, mainly embracing contemporary histories, biographies, and pamphlets relating to Erasmus and the men and events of his time. The foundation of his collection was made by Mr. George P. Philes of New York." A complete catalogue of Mr. White's library has been made by Mr. Burr.

4. What that of New England?

5. What where the three forms of the relations of the Colonies to the mother country?

6. How did alienation begin?

7. Explain the connection between the Stamp Act and the Battle of Lexington

8. Through what channel did the colonists receive their specie?

9. Give the story of the Hutchinson letters.

10. What was the civil Government of the Revolution?

11. What was the first great financial error of the Revolution?

12. What was the fundamental error with regard to the army of the Revolution?

13. Who was the great diplomatist of the Revolution?

14. Name some authors and their works.

15. What two foreign officers rendered the most important services during the War of Independence?

16. What was the early life of Jean de Kalb?

17. What two schools of military tactics were represented in the American Army?

18. What was the approximate number of German mercenaries?

19. What was De Kalb's commission from Broglie?

Cornell has a splended historical library, and many artistic treasures derived from various sources.

The John Hopkins University was opened at Baltimore in 1876 for the advancement of Science, and General Education. The main idea of the founders appears to have been a reaction from too much of the Prussian collegiate system. The John Hopkins University was to be pre-eminently American. And it is so, although not too much and too exclusively. We are told that in the John Hopkins University Physical and Historical Geography are made the basis of instruction in Historical and Political Science. By the aid of the best maps, more especially of relief maps,—attention is called, in a course of class lectures, to the physical structure and conformation of various historic lands; to the influence of coast-lines, harbours, river-courses, plain and mountain, soil and climate, upon a nation's character and history. Such object-lessons concerning the physical structure of the earth's surface become an important means for teaching the outlines of Universal History. Adjoining the geographical room is one devoted to statistics, which are carefully collected, and collated from all parts of the United States. Files of almanacs, calendars, statesmen's year-books, etc., are kept. It is a Statesman's Bureau in embryo. Then, there is a Historical and Political Science Association: also an "Undergraduate Department," under the auspices of which students give lectures to their own class upon subjects connected with the Academic course. We quote two specimen courses:-

I. Historical Course.—Carthaginian Commerce; Carthaginian Treaties; Grecian Economics; Grecian City Government; the Aristocratic Character of Roman Institutions; the Roman Municipal System; International Influence of Roman

Ethics; International Influences of the Church; International Influence of Chiivalry and of the Crusades; Theories of Church and State; Phases of City Government in Florence; the City Government of German Free Cities and the Rhenish League; the Hauseatic League; the Government of the Swiss antons; the Federation of Switzerland; the Estates of Holland and their Federal Relations.

II. Political Course.—England in Egypt; the International Association for the control of African Trade and the River Congo; France in Tonquin; the Opening of China; Character of Chinese Diplomacy; the Opening and recent Progress of Japan; Relations between Germany and the Vatican; Papal Policy in America; Who should control the Panama Canal if there were one; International Congresses; the Question of an International Tribunal; the Diplomacy of the United States versus the Indians; the Relation of Political Ethics to International Law; the Theory of a World State; Freedom of the Sea and of Great Rivers; the American Fisheries; the Monroe Doctrine in its relation to South American Republics; Review of the present International Relations of the United States.

Examination of Fourier's doctrines and communistic ideas is not shirked. In political economy proper, as well as in the history of political economy, the same method of original research, and student lectures is pursued with gratifying results.

Vassar College was founded in 1861, and was designed "to accomplish for young women, what our Colleges are accomplishing for young men." Its aim is to give the young women a thorough Collegiate education. It has thirteen professorships, and a large corps of assistant teachers, extensive cabinets, a well-equipped astronomical observatory, a chemical and physical laboratory with its own endowment, a library of 15,000 volumes which rejoices in a permanent fund for its increase, an Art Gallery, a School of Music, and a School of Painting! Verily, the young women who are students at Vassar must find their lot cast in pleasant places! The chairs of Classical Languages, Physics, and Chemistry are suficently endowed, and that of Astronomy is partly so. A distinct chair of History has hitherto been the one thing wanting in this well-ordered scholastic economy. History, however, has been taught to the senior class by the President. It has been impossible to do anything in the way of Political Science, except as linked with Ethics and Political Economy. Nevertheless, the young women of Vassar have assimilated a large amount of useful knowledge; and the recent appointment of Miss Salmon (Fellow in History at Bryn Mawr, and A. M. of the University of Michigan) to teach History at Vassar is likely to do away with any shortcomings that may have been felt.

Here is her programme for 1887-88:-

Freshman-year, second semester, lectures on the History of Art, one hour weekly (elective); sophomore-year, first semester, three hours (prescribed), Oriental, Grecian, and Roman History to 476 A. D.; sophomore-year, second semester, four hours (elective), History of the Eastern and Western Empires, Conversion of the Northern Nations, the Holy Roman Empire, Crusades, Renaissance, and Reformation; junior-year, first and second semester, three hours (elective), History from the Reformation through the French Revolution, with a survey of Contemporary Europe; senior-year, first semester, four hours (elective), English and American Constitutional History; senior-year, second semester, three hours (elective), Political Economy.

Wellesley College is another Academy for the higher education of women. It was opened in 1875. The College is beautifully situated in the town of Wellesley, in a park more than 300 acres in extent, and stands upon a commanding site, overlooking Lake Waban. It is only 15 miles from Boston. There is a serviceable college library of some 30,000 carefully-selected volumes, and there are laboratories, etc. There is a Debating Society, and debates are conducted on the model of those in the English House of Commons; without, we suppose, the cat-calls, cock-crowings, and uproar sometimes dominant in that august assemblage. We hope so at any rate; but it seems that the girls are given to impersonation of well-known English politicians. In that case careful selection must be needful as this paragraph suggests:—

Last year we debated the home-rule question in Parliamentary form. A hall was fitted up in imitation of the House of Commons; the Speaker and Sergeant-at-Arms appeared in costume. The three parties, with their leading members, were spiritedly represented. The bill was read, debated, and put to vote. A division was taken on it with a result that would have been gratifying to Mr. Gladstone. The right of nullification was also debated according to Senatorial procedure.

College-work in History was commenced by Miss Mary B. Sheldon, B. A. (University of Michigan). Miss Sheldon's method of teaching was to furnish the students with suggestive outlines of Political History and Methods of Government, with extracts from literature, laws, charters, &c., and illustrations of typical art and architecture. They were taught to observe, to draw conclusions, and to recognize the significance of events. The distinctive features of work at Wellesley are said to be, first substitution of tabular views and library references for text-bcoks; second, the large amount of literary work done by students; third, the amount of individual attention bestowed on students, and rendered possible by the largeness of the

teaching staff employed. Smith College is another educational centre for women. It was founded in Northampton, Mass., in the year 1875 by the bequest of Miss Sophia Smith. Instead of having quasiconventual walls and bolts to shut its young women in withal, Smith College has, from the outset, distributed them in cottages and family-groups, each in charge of a cultivated lady, having her own rooms and her own domestic establishment. Smith College has well-organized departments in Languages, Ancient and Modern, Mathematics and the Sciences, History and Political Science, Philosophy, Art, and Music. Historical novels are admitted to a place in the curriculum. Map-drawing is obligatory. Books, or portions of books, are recommended for private reading. Here is a list of the amount of reading requisitioned and got through in one term, of ten weeks' duration, by a class of beginners in History:

EGYPT.

Unity of History (Freeman). Geography (Herodotus). Gods of Egypt (J. Freeman-Clarke). Manners and Customs (Wilkinson). Upper Egpyt (Klünzinger). Art of Egypt (Lübke). Hypatia (Kingsley). Egyptian Princess (Ebers).

PALESTINE.

Sinai and Palestine, 40 pages (Stanley). History of the Jews (extracts from Josephus). The Beginnings of Christianity, Chap. VII (Fisher). Religion of the Hebrews (J. Freeman-Clarke).

PHŒNICIA, ASSYRIA, ETC.

Phœnicia, 50 pages (Kenrick). Assyrian Discoveries (George Smith). Chaldean Account of Genesis (George Smith). Assyrian Architecture (Fergusson). Art of Central Asia (Lübke).

Dr. Adams holds that the method of teaching History, which converts bright young pupils into note taking machines, is a bad method. "It is," he affirms, "the construction of a poor text-book at the expense of much valuable time and youthful energy. Goethe satirized this fault of German academic instruction in Mephistopheles' counsel to the student, who is advised to study his notes well, in order to see that the Professor says nothing which he has not said already. The simpleminded student assents to this counsel, and says it is a great comfort to have everything in black and white, so that he can carry it all home. But no scrap-book of facts can give wisdom, any more than a tank of water can form a running spring. It is, perhaps, of as much consequence to teach a young person how to study History, as to teach him History itself."

Aye; so! And how about the bed of Procrustes?

Bryn Mawr College for women was founded and richly endowed by Dr. Joseph W. Taylor, a Quaker philanthropist of Burlington, New Jersey, who died in 1880. Bryn Mawr (Welsh for highland) is a suburb of Philadelphia; "in the world, and yet not of it—an ideal position for all scholarship." Dr. Adams considers that it combines all the advantages of town and country, with a background of wealth and respectability to boot. Bryn Mawr was opened to students in 1885 and adopted the cottage-system so successful at Smith College, together with "all that could be learned from the more centralized life and administration of other institutions." In the course on English History, text-book work is subordinate. The lecturers aim, for the most part, to throw light on the leading questions in the England of to-day. They treat, therefore, of the History of Ireland before and since the union with England, and of the circumstances attending the consummation of that union; the History of the House of Lords, and of the Peerage; the History of the English Church; the History of Representation in Parliament; the tariff; colonial government; the union with Scotland; the land laws and their effects on England and on Ireland, and other like topics; and textbook-work is directed on these lines.

The history of the United States is also discussed in topical lectures. Amongst the topics chosen are these: English colonial policy; contrasts in colonial life, manners, and institutions; the foundation of the colonies; England vs. France and Spain in America; the Revolution and its causes; the Constitution; history of political parties; the Monroe doctrine; President Jackson; the National Bank; the Mexican War; the westward migration; the causes of the Civil War; the results of the Civil War.

Each year's work is prefaced by a few lectures on the Philosophy of History and the objects and methods of historical study.

The text-books used are Smith's History of Greece, Leighton's History of Rome, Green's Short History of the English People, and the 'Student's' History of France.

The College of William and Mary: A contribution to the History of Higher Education, with suggestions for its National promotion. By Herbert B. Adams, Ph. D. (Heidelberg), Associate Professor of History in the John Hopkins University.

This is labelled No. I of the American Educational Bureau's Circulars of Information sent us. Perhaps it is more intrinsically interesting for the general reader than either of the two we have taken account of above; but certainly they are of more importance, more solid worth. On that score they have been preferred to honour in the way of priority. We turn now to No. I, the story told in which is helped on by some very well executed prints.

In 1619 Sir Edward Sandys, President of the Virginia Company in England, secured a grant of ten thousand acres of land for the establishment of an university at Henrico. In connection with this plan, the English Bishops got together fifteen hundred pounds for the encouragement of Indian education. Tenants were sent over to cultivate the University lands; and Mr. George Thorpe, a gentleman of His Majesty's Privy Chamber, went with them to superintend affairs. In the spring of 1622, he and three hundred and forty settlers were massacred by Indians.

In 1624, the determination to have a Virginian University again, stirred the hearts and opened the purse-strings of English people. Past experience of Indian treachery recommended some out-of-the-way, secluded spot as most fit for the purpose in hand; and it was decided to erect Academia Virginiensis et Oxoniensis upon just such a spot,—an island in the Susquehanna river to wit. This project also failed, owing to the death of its chief advocate and promoter, Mr. Edward Palmer.

In 1660, the Colonial Assembly of Virginia took into its own hands the conduct of State Education. The motive. Dr. Adams says, was precisely the same as that which influenced the General Court of Massachussets when it established Harvard College, and Grammar Schools to fit the youth of the State "for ye university." The Virginians voted, "that for the advance of learning, education of youth, supply of the ministry, and promotion of piety, there be land taken upon purchases for a Colledge and Free Schools, and that there be, with as much speede as may be convenient, houseing erected thereon for entertainment of students and schollers." It was also voted that the various Commissioners of County Courts should take (levy?) subscriptions on Court-days for the benefit of the College, and that they should send orders through their respective counties to the vestrymen of all the parishes, for the purpose of raising money from such inhabitants as "have not already subscribed." The Governor, the Members of the Council of State, and the Burgesses of the Grand Assembly themselves set a good example of liberality, and severally contributed to the fund "severall considerable sumes of money and quantityes of tobacco." Still, little or nothing was really accomplished at the time, beyond getting in the contributions, where that was possible. Beverley, who published a History of Virginia in 1705, says: "The subscribed money did not come in with the same readiness with which it had been underwritten." The population was very scattered. Settlers, instead of gathering together in towns and villages, as New England colonists were by law bound to do, dispersed more and more,—an agricultural population, somewhat nomadically inclined, and always on the look-out for fresh fields and pastures new, and better than those presently in their occupation,so that it was difficult to get at them and their promised money. Of ready cash, indeed, they seldom had much. The early Virginians were well enough disposed towards Schools and Colleges, for the 'most part; but such circumstances as Physical Geography and Political Economy opposed to their liberal dispositions. And, again, in rural districts, it always happens that subscriptions are realized in a leisurly manner: and Virginia was no exception to the rule. Yet the Verginians really meant to have a College, some day or In support of this good intention, two thousand five hundred pounds were in 1688-89 subscribed for by some gentlemen of the colony and their merchant friends in England, towards the endowment of higher education. In 1691 the Colonial Assembly sent an agent to England to secure a Charter for the proposed College. He took his mission straight to Queen Mary, who favoured the idea, and her prudent Consort

prudently concurred. They agreed to allow two thousand pounds out of the quit-rents of Virginia towards the building fund. The Emissary went to Seymour, the Attorney-General, and showed him the Royal Command to issue a Charter: Seymour demurred. The country could not affort it, he said. The Emissary urged that the College was intended to prepare young men for the Ministry of the Gospel. Virginians had souls to be saved, he suggested, as well as their English countrymen. "Souls," quoth Seymour, "damn your souls; make tobacco." Finally, however, the English Government-Seymour's brutal frankness notwithstanding-concluded to give not only £2,000 in money, but also 20,000 acres of land and a lien of one penny on every pound of tobacco exported from Maryland and Virginia, together with all fees and profits arising from the office of Surveyor-General, which sources of income were to be controlled by the President and Faculty of the College. They were authorized to appoint special surveyors for the counties whenever the Governor and his Council thought. it necessary. These privileges, granted by Charter in 1693, were of great significance in the economic history of Virginia. They brought the entire land system of the Colony into the hands of a Collegiate Land Office. Even after the Revolution, one-sixth of the fees to all public surveyors continued to be paid into the College treasury, down to the year 1819, when this custom was abolished.* In no way could the College of William and Mary have better grasped the political economy of Virginia than by taxing its tobacco and surveying its land. This union of the College with the practical interests of the Colony developed that wise statesman, George Washington, who received his first public commission as county surveyor at the hands of the President of William and Mary.

The colonists were not backward in supporting the foundation they had been so long striving to secure. For it, the Vriginia House of Burgesses levied a permanent export duty on all skins and furs. In 1718 it appropriated one thousand pounds for the education of "ingenious scholars, natives of this Colony." Maryland, like Virginia, was taxed a penny a pound on all exported tobacco, and the special right of Maryland youth to be educated at William and Mary was early recognized. In 1734, a tax was imposed on all imported liquors, and the proceeds given to the College to buy books with: "One of the best dispositions of a liquor tax on record," says our author. Various scholarships or "foundations," yielding pecuniary support to students were established early in the history of the College, thanks to Virginian liberality. A bequest made by the

^{*} Hening's Statutes, xi, 310; Code of Virginia, 1873, p. 710.

Hon'ble Robert Boyle was applied to the encouragement of Indian education, and the propagation of the Gospel amongst Indian tribes. In 1734, the President, masters, and scholars of the new College, and all domestic servants in collegiate employ. even were for exempted from taxation: a survival of monastic tradition. Another instance was the veto put on a Professor's marriage. The salary originally assigned to the President was £150 a year: it was afterwards cut down to £100. The masters got £80 a year, with 20 shillings entrance fee, and 20 shillings, for tuition, from each student entrusted to their care. There were six Masters, or Professors—one for Divinity, one for Mathematics, one for Philosophy, one for Languages, one for Humanity, and (even at that remote time) one for History. Middle Plantation, on account of its salubrity, was the site chosen to build on; and since " it would be highly advantageous and beneficial to his Majesty's Royal William and Mary to have the conveniences of a town near the same," Williamsburg was built there too, and made the Capital of the State. The men of that time did not hold that the further away from a town their schools and Colleges were the better it would be for all concerned with them: "Contrariwise," as it is written in Alice in Wonderland. He who tells the story of William and Mary writes: "It is a very bucolic view of the higher education to expect it to flourish in the open fields, apart from human society, away from great libraries, museums, schools, churches, and from all the helpful, quickening influences of Municipal life. Civilization and culture are, historically speaking, the products of towns and cities."

The original College building was destroyed by fire in 1705, but was forthwith restored in the same style. A tract published in 1724 on The Present State of Virginia, thus describes it:—

The front, which looks due east, is double, and is 136 feet long. It is a lofty pile of brick building, adorned with a cupola. At the north end runs back a large wing, which is a handsmome hall, answerable to which the chapel is to be built; and there is a spacious piazza on the west side, from one wing to the other. It is approached by a good walk, and a grand entrance by steps, with good courts and gardens about it, with a good house and apartment for the Indian master and his scholars, and out-houses; and a large pasture enclosed like a park, with about 150 acres of land adjoining, for occasional uses. The building is beautiful and commodious, being first modelled by Sir Christopher Wren, adapted to the nature of the country by the gentlemen there; and since it was burned down it has been rebuilt, and nicely contrived, altered, and adorned by the ingenious direction of Governor Spotswood, and is not altogether unlike Chelsea Hospital.

It was built in a courtly neighbourhood; about which an English visitor wrote thus:

At the Capitol, at publick times, may be seen a great number of handsome, well-dress'd, compleat Gentlemen. And at the Governor's House upon Birth-Nights and at Balls and Assemblies, I have seen as fine an appearance, as good diversion, and as splendid entertainments in Governor Spotswood's time, as I have seen any where else,

Williamsburg, is a market-town, and is governed by a mayor and aldermen. It is a town well stock'd with rich stores, of all sorts of goods, and well furnished with the best provisions and liquors. Here dwell several very good families, and more reside here in their own houses at publick times. They live in the same neat manner, dress after the same modes, and behave themselves exactly as the Gentry in London; most families of any note having a coach, chariot, Berlin, or chaise. The town is laid out regularly in lots or square portions, sufficient each for a house and garden. Thus, they dwell comfortably, genteelly, pleasantly, and plentifully in this delightful, healthful, and (I hope) thriving city of Williamsburgh.

It was at Williamsburgh that Shakespeare's plays were first acted in America. The College and the town grew and flourished together, mutually helpful. Whatever mere schoolmen may say, there is no such efficient school for the conduct of life as early acquaintance with the world, with society, and with life. "A wise blending of scholastic and social culture makes all the difference between the mediæval monk and the modern man. Virginia is called the Mother of Presidents; but the College of William and Mary, the Alma Mater of

Statesmen, is only another name for Virginia."

At the time of the War of Independence, when the British forces surrendered at Yorktown in 1781, the President and Professors of William and Mary sent an address of congratulation to Washington. He replied, on the 27th of October, in a letter addressed to the "President and Professors of the University of William and Mary," accepting their felicitations and rejoicing at the return of peaceful security to his fellowcitizens. "The seat of literature at Williamsburg," he said, "has ever, in my view, been an object of veneration. As an Institution important for its communication of useful learning, and conducive to the diffusion of the true principles of rational liberty, you may be assured that it shall receive every encouragement and benefaction in my power toward its re-establishment. The sick and wounded of the army, whom my necessities have compelled me to trouble you with, shall be removed as soon as circumstances will permit—an event which will be as pleasing to me as agreeable to you."

Dr. Adams gives much interesting information about George Washington and Jefferson, and their doings; but our concern is with William and Mary, and therefore we must needs pass it by. Although William and Mary was mainly recruited from Virginia and Maryland, they had no monopoly of its advantages. Kentucky and Tennessee abundantly shared in them: many distinguished western men graduated at the Royal College. Here are the outlines of the general plan of instruction pursued

there in 1836:

There were the departments of: (1) the ancient languages; (2) the modern languages; (3) the sciences. In the latter department there were four Junior and and four Senior classes, and the Law class. There was the Junior Moral class, embracing Rhetoric, Belles lettres, Logic, Ethics, Philosophy, &c.; the Junior Mathematical, extending as far as Solid Geometry, Mensuration, and Surveying; the Junior

Political, embracing Civil History, Ancient and Modern, occupying the first half of the course, and the Law of Nature and Nations and the Science of Government occupying the second half. The four Senior classes were the Senior Moral, the, Senior Mathematical, the Senior Political, and the Natural Philosophical, which carried the students into very advanced work for those times. A certain number of these class-courses was required for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and certain courses, e.g., history, were elective. There was enough class-work offered to occupy three years, but a student could secure a degree in two years. The Law course was quite distinct from any hitherto mentioned: it embraced lectures upon the law as it existed in Virginia, upon police, or administration, the history and principles of the constitutions of the United States and of Virginia. Blackstone's Commentaries and Madison's Reports were the text-books in law. The method of instruction in Law, History, and Political Science was by lectures, combined with recitations from appropriate text-books."

The Revolution sowed the seeds of decline in William and Mary. The English endowments were diverted into English channels, the College lost its privilege of levying a tobacco tax, money had become paper, and had depreciated in value the State Capital was removed to Richmond. It was proposed to remove William and Mary there, too. The idea was a popular one, both within and without the College walls; but it came to nothing; and the old Institution kept its head above water bravely for many years—till the Civil War broke out in 1861, and every man and every youth connected with the Institution took up arms for the South. That was the undoing of William and Mary. Patriotism is not always a paying business, and here is the story of the ending, as told in a U. S. official record:—

The Peninsula formed by the James and York Rivers was debatable ground occupied alternately by the contending forces. Williamsburg, the site of William and Mary, is its strategic point, the key of the military position, and terrific battles were fought for its possession. In September 1862, Williamsburg was held by a detachment of the United States Army, but on the 9th of that month the place was attacked and occupied by a force of Confederate cavalry, who held the city until 11 o'clock of that day. Upon the evacuation by the rebel cavalry and the return of our troops, a body of stragglers from the United States forces, drunken, disorderly, and insubordinate, fired and destroyed the College building, with the library, apparatus, furniture, and other property therein, belonging to the Institution. Afterwards, during the War, other houses and property of the College and connected therewith were destroyed by Union soldiers."*

Numerous and influentially backed petitions have from time to time during the last quarter of a century been presented to Congress, praying for compensation for the wanton destruction committed by Northern troops, contrary to all the usage of civilized war—nay, even in the Dark Ages—for churches and schools were exempted from war's ravages. It was urged that northern men did the mischief and northern men ought surely to hasten to repair it. But, though the National Treasury is "bursting with silver," and there is an annual surplus of 100,000,000 dollars, yet the men in charge of affairs at Washington are deaf to

^{*} House Report, No. 6, 42d Congress, 2d Session, Vol. 1, January 29, 1872.

all entreaties on behalf of William and Mary. There is something pathetic in the story of its ultimate dissolution, as told by Dr. Adams:—

Enough money was contributed to restore the main building of William and Mary and to organize the Faculty anew with departments of Latin, Greek, Mathematics, Modern Languages, Natural Science, Philosophy, and Belles-lettres, but the annual expenses exceeded the annual income. Old endowments had been lost; new ones proved inadequate. At last the professors were all dismissed, because their salaries could not be paid; consequently, students disappeared. The President alone remained at his post. During one year he had one student; but even he has gone. The President remains still at the College. At the opening of every Academic year, in October, he causes the chapel bell to be rung. Does it ring for the living, or does it toll for the dead? Is it the clang of a bell of warning to all friends of the higher education, a bell buoyed over a sunken rock upon the dangerous coast of popular ignorance and national neglect, or is it a summons to men in every State and at the nation's Capital to do their duty in the cause of higher education,—to be "Wise, and True, and Just," as were the founders who gave that ancient motto to the College of William and Mary?

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JNO. HOOLEY.

ART. X .- JUSTICE TO WHOM JUSTICE IS DUE.

THE decision of the Government of India in regard to the settlement of pensions on the members of the Oudh family, has not evoked that impartial criticism in the Indian press which the importance of the subject demands. Except a few articles in the daily Statesman, scant justice has been done to it by the other exponents of public opinion. Of course the Pioneer has had something to say about the revision of allowances following the demise of Wajid Ali Shah, but it has been said with the flippant heartlessness characteristic of that paper's inspired writings on the affairs of Native Princes. Referring to the case of Prince Kamar Kadur it remarks;

An attempt is being made to create a grievance on behalf of Prince Kamar Kadur, who has been recognized by Government as representative of the family of the late King of Oudh. It appears that he has been granted an allowance of Rs. 3,000 per mensem, and given Rs. 12,000 to assist him in paying his debts. The grievance is that he is not granted Rs. 5,000, and that the whole of his debts (Rs. 40,000) are not liquidated. The only argument that can be urged in favour of this view is that his elder brother, Prince Hazabai Ali, who died some years ago, received Rs. 5,000 monthly. Considering that Prince Kamar Kadur has hitherto been living on Rs. 300 per month, we fail to see that he has been hardly used at all. The tax-payer, who groans under the burden of the incometax and the miseries of a depreciated silver currency, will probably share our views.

This is a pure fabrication. There has been no attempt "made to create a grievance," unless the assertion of one's rights may be distorted into a grievance; for it already exists independent of the officious interference of a service-organ, as I hope presently to show. Everybody knows that if the Prince had asserted his claim to a monthy stipend of Rs. 5,000 on the demise of his elder brother Mirza Hazabai Ali, the Government would have had no alternative but to entertain his prayer. But there was a fatal objection in the way of the Prince pressing his claim on the notice of the Viceroy. That sum would have had to be deducted from the corpus of the pension allowed to the King, and as the Prince has never been a rebellious son, but, on the contrary, was dutiful and affectionate, he abstained from making the demand, lest he might wound his father's feelings This cannot be construed into a voluntary and formal relinquishment of his claim.

With regard to the statement that he "has been living on Rs. 300 a month," it would be consistent with the truth if the writer of the paragraph had said, that "he had been compelled to live" on that miserable pittance, and, therefore,

contracted heavy liabilities which he now finds difficult to meet without the help of the Government. First prick a man, and, when he bleeds, punish him for bleeding. But that is the way of the Pioneer, and the less said about it the bettet for the credit of Anglo-Indian journalism. It is not my purpose to inflict upon the readers of this Review the oft-repeated tale of Wajid Ali Shah's deposition and the subsequent events which led to the Sepoy Revolt of 1857; these are facts generally known to every student of Indian history, and they need not be recapitulated here. What I am concerned with at present, is to show how far the British Government is justified in its treatment of the wives, sons, and dependents of the late King, as it should be interpreted by the light of documentary evidence, published at a time when India was in the throes of a rebellion and there was very little cause for a moderate expression of views on the part of the Court of Directors who were then the real rulers of the country. point, then, to be determined is, whether the penalty imposed on the King was brought about by reason of his disloyalty to the Paramount Power or for some other cause. Instead of searching the writings of Sir John Kaye, Colonel Malleson, or Major Evans Bell, for a key to the outrage committed on the innocent Waiid Ali Shah, I shall rely on State documents in support of my position. On the 3rd of March 1858, the Secretary to the Government of India, forwarded to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Oudh, a copy of a Proclamation which was "to be issued by the Chief Commissioner at Lucknow, so soon as the British troops, under His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, shall have possession or command of the city." Important as those two documents are, throwing a flood of light on contemporary events, they would tire the readers of this article to go through; and as the reply received from Home reviewing the Proclamation deals exhaustively with it, as also the letter referred to above, I will give verbatim the minute of the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, dated 19th April:—

That authoritative expression of the will of the Government, informs the people that six persons,* who are named as having been steadfast in their allegiance, are henceforward the sole hereditary proprietors of the lands they held when Oude came under British rule, subject only to such moderate assessment as may be imposed upon them; that others, in whose favour like claims may be established, will have conferred upon them a proportionate measure of reward and honour; and that, with these

^{*} Drigbiggie Singh, Raja of Bulrampore; Koolwunt Singh, Rajah of Pudnaha; Rao Hurdeo Buksh Singh of Kutiaree; Kashee Pershad, Talukdar of Sissaindee; Zubr Singh, Zemindar of Gopal Khair; and Chundee Lal, Zemindar of Moraon, Baiswarah.

exceptions, the propriatory right in the soil of the province is confiscated to the British Government.

We cannot but express to you our apprehension that this decree, pronouncing the disinherison of a people, will throw difficulties almost insurmountable in the way of the re-establishment of peace.

We are under the impression that the war in Oude has derived much of its popular character from the rigorous manner in which, without regard to what the chief landholders had become accustomed to consider as their rights, the summary settlement had, in a large portion of the provinces, been carried out by our officers.

The landholders of India are as much attached to the soil occupied by their ancestors, and are as sensitive with respect to the rights in the soil they deem themselves to possess, as the occupiers of land in any country of which we have a knowledge.

Whatever may be your ultimate and undisclosed intentions, your Proclamation will appear to deprive the great body of the people of all hope upon the subject most dear to them as individuals, while the substitution of our rule for that of their Native Sovereign, has naturally excited against us whatever they may have of national feeling.

We cannot but in justice consider, that those who resist our authority in Oude, are under very different circumstances from those who have acted against us in provinces which have been long under our Government.

We dethroned the King of Oude, and took possession of his kingdom by virtue of a treaty which had been subsequently modified by another treaty, under which, had it been held to be in force, the course we adopted could not have been lawfully pursued; but we held that it was not in force; although the fact of its not having been ratified in England, as regards the provision on which we rely for our justification, had not been previously made known to the King of Oude.

That Sovereign and his ancestors had been uniformly faithful to their treaty engagements with us, however ill they may have governed their subjects.

They had more than once assisted us in our difficulties, and not a suspicion had ever been entertained of any hostile disposition on their part towards our Government.

Suddenly, the people saw their King taken from amongst them, and our administration substituted for his, which, however bad, was at least native: and this sudden change of Government was immediately followed by a summary settlement of the revenue, which, in a very considerable portion of the province, deprived the most influential landholders of what they deemed to be their property; of what, certainly, had long given wealth, and distinction, and power to their families. We must admit that, under the circumstances, the hostilities which have been carried on in Oude, have rather the character of legitimate war than that of rebellion, and that the people of Oudh should rather be regarded with indulgent consideration than made the objects of a penalty, exceeding in extent and in severity, almost any which has been recorded in history as inflicted upon a subdued nation.

Other conquerors, when they have succeeded in overcoming resistance, have excepted a few persons as still deserving of punishment, but have, with a generous policy, extended their clemency to the great body of the people.

You have acted upon a different principle; you have reserved a few as deserving of special favour, and you have struck, with what they will feel as the severest of punishment, the mass of the inhabitants of the country.

We cannot but think that the precedents from which you have departed

will appear to have been conceived in a spirit of wisdom superior to that which appears in the precedent you have made.

We desire that you will mitigate, in practice, the stringent severity of the decree of confiscation you have issued against the landholders of Oude.

We desire to see British authority in India rest upon the willing obedience of a contented people. There cannot be contentment where there is

general confiscation.

Government cannot long be maintained by any force in a country where the whole people is rendered hostile by a sense of wrong; and if it were possible so to maintain it, would not be a consummation to be desired.

This plain statement of affairs brings in bold relief two indisputable facts: (1) that the ancestors of the late King. Wajid Ali Shah, and he himself, were thoroughly loyal to the British Government, and that he was deprived of his kingdom by an act of jugglery, which will be severely condemned wherever the history of this confiscation is read; and (2) that the war carried on by the people had "rather the character of legitimate war than that of rebellion." These two admissions, from a quarter from whence they were least expected, will serve my purpose. Of course, nothing can be said in vindication of the cruelties perpetrated by the populace, and the penalty meted out to them was well merited. But is the King to be held responsible for the acts of his subjects; is he to suffer vicarious punishment for the misdeeds of others? Had he been inclined to offer resistance, when could a better opportunity be found than at the time of his forcible ejection from his ancestral palace, among the wailings of his devoted, wives and dependents and an infuriated mob mourning his departure. If he had pointed a finger at his spoliators, history would have recounted another tale, and the horrors of the Mutiny of 1857 would have been thrown into the shade by more atrocious crimes. But Wajid Ali Shah remained staunch to the very last, and exhorted his subjects not to molest any body, as he still hoped-poor, deluded man !-some day to be restored to his possessions. For this act of loyalty he was relegated to an ignominious exile in the suburbs of Calcutta, with a miserable pittance of a lakh a month, to pine away his existence in a blissful dream that Kismet may bring about a change in his condition, and instead of being a prisoner in the hands of his old friends, he might be sent back once more to rule over Oudh.

After all that could possibly be done by the Government of Lord Dalhousie to ruin the Province, his advisers took shelter behind the allegation, that the annexation of Oudh was for the good of its people; whereas if the truth were to be told, we did not leave a stone unturned to render ourselves as hateful to the rural population as to the landholders. By one stroke of his pen the latter,—the Barons of Oudh,—were despoiled of

all they possessed. Instead of recognizing their proprietory right in the soil our rule commenced by sowing the seeds of an aggrarian revolution, which a short-sighted policy dictated would stand us in good stead in the time of our trouble; but how grievously were we mistaken, and how great a Nemesis overtook us!

It is no less a matter of surprise than of regret that the Politicals should have so completely succeeded in hood-winking the Executive in regard to the provision made for the wives, children, and dependents of the late King. By a single fiat they have been in one burial blent. Wife or no wife, child or no child, the treatment accorded to some of them has been in complete harmony with the traditions of the Foreign Office: keep them on starvation-allowance, and in return expect the deepest gratitude for the smallest favours conferred. That the unfortunate Wajid Ali Shah was deprived of his kingdom without the slightest justification, and by a piece of chicanery of which any enlightened Christian Government ought to be ashamed, I will not stop here to discuss. If the penalty imposed on the King for being a loyal ally of the British Government was harsh, cruel, and opposed to all ideas of justice and righteousness, his unfortunate Queen, Malika Mokhuddoorajoozmah Nawab Badshah Mahal Saheba, fared still worse. was married to the King when he was yet the heir apparent to the throne of Oudh, and, according to social usage and court etiquette, occupied a premier position, to which his subsequent wives could not aspire. She bore him three sons. none of whom, however, survived the father. When His Majesty was dethroned, she was informed by Captain Hayes, presumably under authority, that her pension would be fixed at Rs. 5,000 a month, but the promise was never redeemed. Nevertheless, as she was treated with the honours due to her rank and her wants were liberally supplied by the King on their settling down in the suburbs of Calcutta, she had no grave reasons for complaint. It should here be observed that at the time of her marriage the King entered into a contract, known as Den Meher under the Imamya Law, to pay her a sum of Rs. 25,25,500—one half to be recovered at any time she demanded it, and the other moiety fell due on the death of her husband, unless the King divorced her. The latter contingency not having occurred it is worse than useless to discuss the point. In the year 1881, a rupture having taken place with His Majesty, owing to the stoppage of her allowance, she took the opportunity of bringing the matter of her dower to the notice of Government. In May 1882, the Agent to the Governor-General with the King, called upon her to substantiate her claim to the dower. She drew up a Memorial,

accordingly, to the Supreme Government, in which she adduced all the evidence it was possible at that distance of time to bring together in support of her claim. The only reply she received was a letter from the Government of Bengal, which purported to be an answer to her Memorial, simply intimating "that the Government of India are not prepared to entertain her petition." On the death of the King, and after the passing of the Act in the Viceregal Council, vesting his estate in the Government, the latter called upon the creditors of his late Majesty to submit their claims for its consideration. This proceeding evidently offered the Begum an opportunity of demanding the moiety of her dower, which she did, in the belief that the question would be considered by the authorities. She was, however, disagreeably surprised to receive a letter some months afterwards from the Government Solicitor —who is also in charge of the estate of the late King, since the departure of Colonel Prideaux in forming her "that the subject was fully considered during His Majesty's lifetime and rejected, and the Governor-General in Council sees no reason for reopening her case."* This is the usual stereotyped reply when Government is anxious to shirk the responsibility of a decision; but the ground of refusal has been shifted—this time. Now, let us examine the facts of the case as they actually happened, and not as they were represented to the authorities through a distorted medium. haste in which the royal family were compelled to leave Lucknow, precluded the Begum's obtaining possession of private documents and valuable properties which had to be left behind in the Palace; but she was led to believe that they, at least, would be spared in the general loot that followed, and would be sent on to her destination wherever that might be. The rebellion of 1857 occurred shortly after, and involved her fortune in the general wreck. Not only the original deed of marriagesettlement, but other private properties were destroyed by the She was not, therefore, in a position to produce it for the inspection of the authorities. But, although the document was not forthcoming, its contents could be proved by indisputable oral evidence. The marriage of the heir apparent to a throne is a public matter, and could not be hid away under a bushel. There were a large number of persons then, as there are some still, living, who are thoroughly cognizant of the fact of Rs. 25,25, 500 having been settled upon her. In fact, nothing could have been easier to prove than this, had Government been so inclined. Where could a more reliable witness be found than

^{*} The words I have italicised are a vague expression, since the King pined away his existence in durance vile from 1856 to 1887, and for the purpose of an excuse, the enquiry might have been held at any time these 31 years.

His late Majesty himself, besides a host of his nobles and servants who were left behind at Lucknow.

If further proof were necessary it will be found in the fact that four daughters of the late Nawab Naki Khan, the last Prime Minister of Oudh, had the same amount of dower settled upon them by their husbands, and the fifth daughter, who was married to His late Majesty after his accession to the throne, had a very large sum settled upon her. According to the Imamya Law, dowers are looked upon, and held to be, in the nature of deposits, which are not affected by the Statute of Limitation, until they become actually payable either on demand or on the death of the husband. If the Begum were left free to establish her claim in a civil tribunal there is no doubt as to its ultimate result. But Act XIII of 1868 which was passed for the purpose of preventing fraudulent and frivolous suits being urged against His late Majesty-could not have been intended by the Legislature to debar the prosecution of just claims, such as the redemption of unpaid dowers. According to the law of all civilized countries, as well as that of Islam, the property of a deceased person passes on, with his last breath, first to his creditors, and the balance, if any, to his legatees, notwithstanding the existence of a testament to the contrary. It applies in the same way to the estate of Wajid Ali Shah; and the subsequent passing of an Act by the Viceregal Council vesting it in the Government of India, does not affect the rights of his widow, nor relieves Government of its liabilities as a Trustee. However, after the Act had been passed, the Government called upon his creditors to submit their claims for the consideration of the Viceroy in Council. This proceeding evidently gave her an opportunity of prefering her demand, which she did without loss of time, in the belief that a patient hearing would be accorded to her. After months of silence, the only satisfaction she received was the letter from the Crown Solicitor referred to above. She has no lien on the Government, but as a trustee of her late husband's property; and what she prays for is thoroughly in accord with the dictates of reason and justice, viz., that her dower be paid to the extent of the assets left by him. What she cannot understand, is the refusal of permission to sue his administrator. While the meanest subject of the Queen-Empress has the right to sue, and be sued, by the Secretary of State, why should she, the widow of a dethroned King, be denied the same prerogative, by virtue of a deed solemnly executed by himself, making a provision for her in her state of widowhood? But her misfortunes do not end here. Even in the matter of enhanced pension her usual ill-luck has attended her. Those who

received Rs. 90 or Rs. 100 during the life-time of the King, had their monthly allowances increased to Rs. 600; but the provision made for her years ago practically continues the same; and as the lawfully-married (nika) wife of the late King she has been dragged down to the level of the motahi wives, or those who come under the category of licensed concubines!

Her cup of affliction, however, was not full till Sir Ashley Eden came upon the scene, with his Balm in Gilead, to the rescue of a proud but injured Queen. In a letter, dated 26th January 1881, she is informed "that the allowance payable by the King of Oudh for her maintenance has been fixed by Government at Rs. 600 per month, and that the payment of the allowance is conditional on her remaining faithful to His Majesty." How the loathsome words italicised by me could have been committed to paper-not in a moment of excitement, be it observed but in a calm and sober mood—surpasses, my understanding. For the head of the Bengal Government to stoop to such a disgraceful manœuvring is a shameful blot on the administration of the country! With her eldest son murdered by the mutineers, and others taken away from her by death, deserted by her husband, alone and friendless in the world, smarting under accumulated misfortunes, Sir Ashley Eden goes far out of his way to attach a most humiliating condition to the acceptance of what is only a fraction of her rights! Such a base insinuation is unworthy of a ruler of sixty million souls, unworthy of a man of refined feelings, and unworthy of the sex to which the writer belongs! What a travesty of Christian charity! This reminds me of the memorable words of Burke: "I thought a thousand-swords would have leaped from their scabbards to avenge the wrong offered to the injured Queen of France; but, alas! the days of chivaly are over, and those of atheists, economists, sophists, and calculators have succeeded, and the glory of Europe has been for ever extinguished."

A. STEPHEN.

Against of since we hange their

in American Deploy for il presidente de A

FIELD FLOWERS.

[ENGLISHT FROM THE GERMAN OF KARL GEROCK.]

Under the heading Feldblumen (Field Flowers) Gerock gives a series of six poems :-

Maszliebchen, the Daisy.

Schlüsselblumen, Cowslips.

Felsennelke, the Mountain Pink. 3.

Wegwarte, the blue Succory.

Glockenblumen, Bluebells or Harebells. Herbstzeitlose, the purple Loosestrife.

(1.) One of the names applied to the Daisy in the original is Goose Flower. This I have omitted in the translation as, so far as I know, the name is given in England to a different flower, the Silverweed, Potentilla anserina,

(2.) Schlüsselblumen means literally the 'Key Flowers.' To the German, the Cowslips are the keys which open earth and sky, long locked up by winter, and let out the flowers. There being no such association of ideas in English, I could not bring this out satisfactorily in the translation.

(3.) The Succory—Here, again, the name Wegwarte, the Wayside Waiter,

has an association it wants in English.

(4.) This translation has appeared in the Madras Mail; but it is given here again, to complete the series.

(5.) The poet shows much insight in choosing the melancholy purple Loosestrife for his farewell to summer.

M. R. W.

THE DAISY.

White little stars upon the green, Do I already see you? Ere suns of March have chased the keen Cold frost away to free you. Has some one kept you under glass Until the winter snows should pass? Or have ye fallen from Heaven?

"O! no one kept us under glass, Or from high heaven let fall us; Up from the sod to light we pass— Spring's firstlings people call us. Our necks have small white ruffs round them, Just tipped with rose-pink at the hem, Our little heads are golden.

"We're dear to all men, low and high, Fair Marguerites some style us; Emblems of sweet simplicity, No charms of rank beguile us. And out of doors we keep us well, And please, though we've no fragrant smell Like lordly sweet Narcissus,

"Behind the town, upon the green,
Where little folk are playing,
We watch the games with eye serene.
On our short stalks unswaying.
We're happy in our life's brief day,
Though poor and small, we smile and play
Like children in the sunshine."

(2.) THE COWSLIP.

Where sunbeams dance a measure
Upon the green hill sides,
O see the golden treasure
The laughing Spring provides!
O see! O see! for Easter day
The golden Cowslip blossoms
In all their bright array.

The earth was locked up closely,
No little brook might run,
In prison shut, morosely,
No flower might see the sun;
But now they troop forth more and more—
The golden Cowslip blossoms
The keys that oped the door.

The heaven was walled up tightly
With clouds of leaden hue;
Its mourning cast off lightly,
Now shines it once more blue.
Now earth and heaven are open free—
The golden Cowslip blossoms
Announce it joyously.

Come, children, where you view them
All brightly gild the field;
They gaily call you to them,—
How sweet the scent they yield.
And if with seeking tired you be,
The fragrant Cowslip blossoms
Will yield refreshing tea

(3.) THE MOUNTAIN PINK.

The little mountain pink am I,
Through rain or sunny weather
In purple robe I sit on high
Amongst the soft, warm heather;
And from my mountain seat I see
Hunter and shepherd pass by me,
And sheep on pastures nether.

Down on the plains below me, there,
I have a proud relation.
Of sweetest scent, and face most fair,
And most exalted station.
The pink shines in the garden rows,
The fairest flower the summer shows,
Of world-wide reputation.

No tender child of mother kind
Am I, scant nurture knowing,
Me cradles but the summer wind,
The moist rain sets me growing.
I live alone on light and air,
Scentless, nor splendid, and yet fair,
My face its gay smile showing.

Lightly the sod I thrust me through
I know not care nor sorrow;
Gaily the troubled world I view
Nor fear I for the morrow.
In sunshine, or in cloud and shade,
Unseen I bloom, unwept I fade,
Nor other lot would borrow

(4) SUCCORY.

In pale blue dress I'm waiting
Beside the dusty way,
In hope all unabating,
Tho' summer glides away;
And ne'er along the road I see
A lover come to look for me.
In pale blue dress I'm waiting
Beside the dusty way.

I am no dainty princess
Like bright Forget-me-not,
Who care for me evinces?
What odes to me are brought?
What am I but a poor small maid,
Who beareth much—with little said—
Ah, I'm no dainty princess
Like bright Forget-me-not!

I bloom not in the garden,
Nor in the shady hedge;
I stand where dry winds harden
The dusty highway's edge,

Low to the ground is bowed my head, Sore bruised by wind, with dust bespread. I bloom not in the garden Nor in the shady hedge.

My little cloak is tattered—
Uncouth neglected child—
'Tis rudely pulled and battered
By rain and storm-blast wild;
But tho' the clouds loom dark and grey,
Mine eye still keeps the heaven's blue ray,
Altho' my cloak is tattered,
Uncouth, neglected child.

In pale blue dress I'm waiting,
Trusting and loving yet,
With hope still unabating
Not knowing vain regret.
And tho' in autumn I must fade
In winter lie down with the dead,
In pale blue dress I'm waiting
Trusting and loving yet.

(5) BLUEBELLS.

Bluebell flowers, bluebell flowers,
By the castle ruins grey,
Whispering through the sunny hours,
Softly to and fro ye sway.
How your fairy bells light ringing
Draws the distant past anigh;
Vididly before me bringing
Memories, of scenes gone by!

Here I came, a child, fast keeping
Hold of dear old grannie's hand—
Long since in the grave she's sleeping—
As we wandered through the land;
How she loved you, how we sought you
'Fore all flowers' neath heaven's blue dome,
How, to please her, oft I've brought you,
As the foremost fav'rites, home!

Here, in youth's too fleeting hours,
Often came a merry throng,
Clamb'ring for the bluebell flowers
The old crumbling mounds along.

Of the azure bells a posy
Plucked I on the hill-top there,
And I gave it to a rosy
Blue-eyed maid with golden hair
O'er her heart she placed it after;
Starry was the night and clear.
Home 'mid song and jest and laughter
Went the band with merry cheer;
I forgot the gift, she keeping—
Ah sweet wife—its memory green;

Many a day since then has found me
With my children on the hill,
While they ran and played around me
With the youngest by me still;
Now to cull the bluebells racing
Where he spied them by the way,
Now the gathered blossoms placing!

'Neath the churchyard flowers unseen!

She, too, her long sleep is sleeping

Ah, that child, the loved, the loving,
In his grave sleeps cold and still—
Leaning on my staff, slow moving,
Lonely now I climb the hill.
When I see you, bluebells, swaying
By the wayside as I roam,
Dreamlike hear I round me playing
Sounds of bells that ring me home.

In my hand in merry play!

(6) LOOSESTRIFE.

Lowly Loosestrife, still thou'rt flowering—Pale and scentless, crouching, cowering
From the wintry wind's rude shock,
Last of Summer's flowering flock.

When sad Autumn damps the meadows, Then thou'rt seen 'mongst chilly shadows, Where pale rows of willows gleam, O'er some gently gliding stream.

Now the water-meads are flowerless But for thee, poor foundling, dowerless, Whose bare stems no gay hues clothe; Poor in charm and small in growth. Some say poison's in thy chalice, But I hold they speak in malice. When thy sober hues I see Soft regret steals over me.

When spring violets are blowing, When the roses' blooms are glowing In the splendour of the year, Scarce we think of thee I fear.

But now that the year is dying, And the autumn tints are flying, In the flowerless meads I see Thee alone to comfort me.

Summer after spring has hasted, All the year's rich sweets we've tasted; The late reveller now drains From thy cup their last remains,-

Drains them from thy chalice tender, On its stem so frail and slender, and had " Drains them, thankful to the last, Sorrowing that the feast is past.

DARJEELING, 20th May 1888.

M. R. WELD.

IONA FAME, 1858.

I huny me to deput;

For I love a cruel disdainful math.

For I cannot like without my love,

He soft dill blance a lo uvol oile the per service per dilly thought the colors with the dilly the miles of the miles of the miles of the per dilly of the per

With pale, pale checks she kinnis"

From thy native land to m

elaw-spe bloo all lo enbo edi vil-"

"And he his eyes all dim with to as,

O they levingly looked at each office.

No more did she long to rust in the sea,

Nor sorrow nor pain felt they:

No. not for another day.

With a love that becale our near the

of Mow. who is the whetch whose heart is one;

"Since I love one who regards me not, Let the wild wave liner me away;

BALLAD. THE NEIGHBOURS' CHILDREN,

From Julius Wolff's " Lurlei."

There were two neighbours' children Loved one another so, Each kept the secret, fearing To let the other know.

Nothing could make them tell it, Why each heart was heavy and sore, And they pined with love and longing, Till they could endure no more.

He hoped in foreign travel, From the weight of his woe to flee, She thought to find rest from her sorrow In the depths of the cold blue sea.

Now, the way of his wandering led him Past where she stood by the shore; And he felt he must bid her a last farewell And hold her hand once more.

"What doest thou here, on the water So steadfastly gazing, say?" "O whither do'st thou so early,

And hurriedly hie thee away?"

"Far distant lands am I seeking, I hurry me to depart; For I love a cruel disdainful maid, With a love that breaks my heart."

"Since I love one who regards me not, Let the wild waves bear me away; For I cannot live without my love,

No, not for another day."

"Now, who is the wretch whose heart is unmoved By the love of a maid like thee?"

" Now, who is the minx who can drive thee away From thy native land to flee?"

"By the edge of the cold sea-water, With pale, pale cheeks she stands"

"And he, his eyes all dim with tears, Would off to foreign lands."

O they lovingly looked at each other, Nor sorrow nor pain felt they; No more did she long to rest in the sea, Nor he to be far away!

DARJEELING, 10th June, 1888.

M. R. WELD.

SCRAPS OF TRANSLATION FROM THE PERSIAN.

By AIYYASH.

Inscription on the Signet of Nadir Shah

Nádiram dar Mulk-i Irán, Kádiram dar har diyár: Lá Fata ilá Ali, Lá Saif ilá Zu'lfikár.

(Translation.)

I am Nádir Shah of Irám, The victorious in war: No champion except Ali; No sword but Zulfikár!

Inscription on the Coin of Nadir Shah.

Sikka bar zar kard nám-i-Saltanat dar Jahán Nádir-i Irán zamíno Khusran-i geti-sitán.

(Translation.)

Nádir of Irán's land, the world-conquering hero bold, Has stamped the name of Empire upon this coin of gold.

MAJRA-I MASHRIKI.

(The Eastern Question.)

Che neko guft Fridúsi-i Túsi, Ke marg-i khar buwwad sag ra 'arúsi.

(Translation.)

Firdusi of Tús, how truthfully he said, "The dog will banquet when the ass is dead."

SHAH-I SHATRNJ.

(The Chess King.)

Ján na dárad, fauj ham dárad, Be wiláyat Pádisháh; Sháhi qáim, jangi dá'im. Kushta gardad be-gunáh.

(Translation.)

Without life, yet oft in strife,
See a crowned but realmless King:
All his force of foot and horse,
Round him helpless perishing.

BE-NAMAZ.

(The Agnostic.)

Na Múminam, na Nasárá, na Kafiram, na Yahúd; Ba hairatam, ke saranjám-i-má che khwáhad búd.

(Translation.)

I am not Moslem, nor Christian, nor a Pagan, nor a Jew; I wonder, in the future state, what place shall I go to?

TO MY SWEETHEART.

Kai báshad, o kai báshad, o kai báshad, o kai?
Man básham, o vai báshad, o nai báshad, o mai:
Man gah lab-i vai busam, vaigah lab-i mai,
Man busa za vai giram, o vai busa za nai!

(Translation.)

When will it be, when will it be, when wilt thou be mine?

I with thee, and thou with me, and the music, and the wine!

I kissing thy red lips, and thou kissing the wine;

Thou kissing the flute's mouth, and I kissing thine!

ON THE PLEASURES OF A PICNIC.

Lab i jám, o lab-i yár, o lab-i júv, o lab-i kisht; Gar do-char shavad ín chahár, bih za hasht bihisht.

(Translation.)

The bank of the stream, and the brim of the cup, and the edge [of the wood, and the lip of the love; These four earthly things together, are better than the heavens [above.

IN PRAISE OF KING BAMBOO.

Hazári, bazári, kamina, ghulám, Khata, be-khata, lat kardan mudám.

(Translation.)

Clowns, slaves, and people of low degree, The more you beat them, the better they be.

THE MERRY MONARCH.

The King with his Chiefs and Nobles, was feasting at the board,
And the music sounded loud from the Naubat-Khana high:
Then the Vazir to the Monarch said: "What sound, my gracious
[Lord,
"Doth sweet appear to the Royal ear, in all this minstrelsy?"

And the King made answer: "Four sounds do please my ear the

"Yea, four sounds of all sounds do please this ear of mine;
"The bubbling of the Narghila, the hissing of the roast,
"The rustling of the petticoats, the gurgling of the wine!"

I was blowless, not the color of the set of

AIYYASH.

THE QUARTER.

THE protracted sufferings of the Emperor Frederick terminated fatally during the quarter under review. He died on the 15th of June. The end when it came was without pain; and, entirely worn out, he passed, as in sleep, into his last rest. The feeling excited by the event is one of profound and universal sorrow—a sorrow in which even the French participate, judging by the tone of the French press. Germany and Europe could ill afford the loss of such a man at any time; but the loss just now is, perhaps, altogether irreparable. There was something so grand and lovable about the man, that he stood amidst the strife, hatreds and jealousies of the time like the tall cliff in Goldsmith's poem:

Like some tall cliff that lifts its awful form, Swells from the vale and midway leaves the storm. Though round its breat the rolling clouds are spread Eternal sunshine settles on its head.

He is gone when our need of him was at the sorest, and when the political future, which he might have controlled to peaceful and prosperous issues, looks darker and more uncertain than ever.

The other principal events of the quarter under review have been the betrothal of the Princess Victoria of Germany to Prince Alexander of Battenburg, and the subsequent political complications and agitations arising out of that event; the action of the German Government in putting a stop to French immigration into Alsace-Loraine; the retirement from military command of General Boulanger, and his subsequent election for several French Departments to the Chamber of Representatives by enormous majorities; the visit of Queen Victoria to Berlin; the close of the Currency Commission; the publication of the Report of the India Public Service Commission; the Gladstonian victory at Southampton; the satisfactory progress of the Burmah Dacoity Campaign; the death of Mr. Mathew Arnold, and the attack by the Tibetians on our fortified position at Gnatong.

It had long been suspected that the late Emperor of Germany was not in accord with Prince Bismarck on some important points of state policy, and the difference between the Emperor and the Chancellor is attributed, justly or unjustly, to the influence of the Empress—our own Princess Royal of

England. So long as the Emperor William lived, Prince Bismarck was bound to have it all his own way, for the Emperor William was the very living embodiment of that militarism which has procured for Prussia so much glory, so much dominion; but at the same time such bitter enemies, and such grave and terrible responsibilities. "By blood and iron" was the Empire won and it must be maintained. Now the present Empress is credited, rightly or wrongly, with sympathies both in relation to foreign and domestic policy, which Prince Bismarck holds in abhorrence and contempt. She is said, in relation to domestic policy, to be a Liberal, that is to be in favour of extending to the Prussian Parliament and the Prussian people, a far larger and more direct share in the Government of the country than they now possess, and her sympathies in relation to domestic policy are the cause of antipathies in relation to foreign policy which Prince Bismarck has to contend with, and which, from his point of view, are impolitic and absurd. It is said that the Empress shares her mother's undoubted antipathy to Russia.

Just after the Emperor Frederick succeeded to the throne it was announced that the Princess Victoria of Germany would be formally betrothed to Prince Alexander of Battenburg, and that Queen Victoria would go to Charlottenburg to witness the ceremony. Then came the explosion. In this betrothal Prince Bismarck saw a deliberate insult to Russia, and he threatened to resign if it was carried into effect. The Empress had to give way. The betrothal has been indefinitely postponed but not abandoned, but this little incident has brought to light what was long suspected, that there is a radical difference of political views and sentiments between the Ruler of Germany and the great Minister who made Prussia what she is—the wonder and envy of Europe.

Not long after this incident of the Battenburg betrothal, came the news that Prince Bismarck had taken a most uncompromising attitude towards France, as if to show that kings might come and kings might go but that policy of Bismarck—like the 'stream' of the poet—flowed on for ever. Bismarck never does things by halves. Eighteen years have shown that Alsace-Loraine cannot be conciliated or reconciled. Therefore the Province, as a French province, must be practically effaced. German immigration must be organised on a large scale. French immigration must be altogether stopped, and French emigration must be encouraged and systematized. In time the German element in Alsace-Loraine will swamp the French element altogether, and then the Alsace-Lorain little difficulty will disappear for ever. England could have carried

out this policy in relation to Ireland any time during the last five hundred years, but then England never has had a Bismarck. The nearest approach to it she ever had was Cromwell, and he went near to settling the Irish difficulty than all the rest of the English Kings and Ministers put together.

Under present circumstances any striking or important political event in Germany is sure to be followed or accompanied by a striking or important political event in France. According to a witty French journalist, the three important questions of the hour in France are—who is General Boulanger? what is General Boulanger? and how is General Boulanger? During the quarter under review, General Boulanger came into violent collision with the French Government, and as a result, he was dismissed from his military command and placed on the retired list. But if the action of the Government was intended to crush the irrepressible General, the attempt was a signal and conspicuous failure: General Boulanger became again the popular hero of the French people, and he was returned to the Chamber of Representatives from several departments by enormous majorities. Almost the first thing General Boulanger did after his return to the Chamber, was to demand a revision of the existing constitution, and his enemies saw, and, indeed, it may be said continue to see in that demand, a menace to the republican institutions of France. However this may be, nothing appears to be more certain than the fact that Boulanger is pledged, by the very conditions of his political existence, to the terrible issue of war with Germany; and one thing more appears to be certain as well— he looks that terrible eventuality steadily and calmly in the face, without any exaggerated confidence, but without apprehension. It is natural that such a man, with such a mission, real or feigned, should exercise an enormous influence over the imaginations of the French. But what is General Boulanger himself? Is he really an ambitious soldier determined to erect for himself a supreme position among the ruins of Republican France, or is he, in reality, only the creature of men less popular, but more able and designing than himself? This is a problem which only the future can solve, and to that future it is committed with all its momentous possibilities—possibilities in which all Europe may ultimately become involved.

Queen Victoria paid a visit to her daughter and son-inlaw in Berlin during the quarter under review. The visit had some direct political significance, because it was connected with the projected Battenburg marriage. Her Majesty was very cordially received in Berlin by the people, and had an interview with Prince Bismarck which resulted, as we have said, in the postponment, but not abandonment, of the Battenburg betrothal. At the close of last quarter, and just after his accession to the throne, the condition of the German Emperor was considered all but hopeless; but he suddenly took a turn for the better—the more serious and alarming symptoms gradually subsided, and, with occaional relapses, he had been on the whole steadily, if very slowly, improving until the sudden relapse which ended fatally on the 15th of June.

The Currency Commission finished its labours during the quarter under review, but the Report of the Commissioners has not been published as yet. The Bi-metallists are said to have gained the day, inasmuch as they have succeeded in dividing the Commission almost equally on that vital question—the necessity for a fixed standard between gold and silver in the currency of the Empire.

Another important Commission—the Indian Public Service Commission—finished its labours, and published its Report during the quarter under review. Organic changes in the constitution of the various departments of the Public Service did not come within the scope of the specific inquiry entrusted to the Commission, nevertheless the constitution of every department was rigidly scrutinized, and the recommendations of the Commission were, as a rule, most practical and admirable. As regards the Covenanted Civil Service, they recommend that the limit of age for candidates appearing at the open competitive examination, should be raised to 23 years, and that the service generally should be divided into Imperial and Provincial.

A Gladstonian was returned for Southampton during the quarter under review. The Gladstonians are, of course, jubilant over this victory, and hail it as the sure and certain sign of the inevitable Gladstonian reaction throughout England.

The news from Burma during the quarter under review has been, on the whole, very satisfactory. The country is quieting down, and the civil administration of the newly-acquired territory is being administered by Mr. Crosthwaite with the greatest vigour and the most satisfactory results.

Mr. Matthew Arnold, critic, essayist, and poet, died very suddenly during the quarter under review. Mr. Matthew Arnold was a delightful writer—the master of an exquisitely

finished literary style; and as a critic of works of imagination, he was certainly the English Lessing, for his power of literary analysis, was altogether unequalled among the English writers of his time.

The Tibetians vigorously attacked our fortified post at Gnatong during the quarter under review. They took the opportunity, as an Irishman would say, of the Lieutenant-Governor's visit to the front, to attack our troops, with a view, no doubt of capturing and conveying off a great prize. The only thing they did catch was rather hot, in the shape of a fearful repulse from the Pioneers and the Derbies in charge of the post.

G. A. STACK.

23rd June 1888.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Arboriculture, Panjab, from 1884 to 1887.

DRINCIPAL STATISTICS—

The net resuit of tree-growing operations on avenues during the triennial period 1884 87 has been an increase of 7,093,302 feet, or 1,343 miles in the length of district roads planted. The Lieuteuant Governor agrees with the suggestion of the Arboriculture Committee, that lengths should be reported in miles and furlongs, and not in feet; and entries, in future years, should be calculated accordingly. Since the 1st of April 1884, the area allotted to groves has increased by 4,925 acres,-from 2,143 acres to 7,068 acres; but of this area 2,735 acres still remain to be fully stocked. Since the same date the area on which nurseries are maintained has increased from 101 acres to 325 acres. An area of 1,208 acres, constituting the Tilauri plantation in the Delhi District, is excluded from this account. It is remarked by the Conservator that there are now only three districts in the Punjab which do not record an area of greater or less extent under nurseries. These districts are Umballa, Montgomery, and Kohát; but from the detailed Report of the latter district it would appear that two small nurseries have been established in it, and that young plants are supplied for roads from the Municipal garden. In 1884 nurseries existed in ten districts only. The great importance of forming nurseries, and of devising suitable working-plans for arboricultural operations in each district, has been specially enforced in the Report of the Arboricultural Committee and in the orders of the Lieutenant-Governor thereon.

Operations on canal avenues and groves continue to progress satisfactorily, but comparison with the figures reported in former years is rendered difficult by the fact, that previous to 1885-86 several Divisions showed the operations on avenues in acres. The Increase in the length of Provincial roads planted during the three years under report was 651,616 feet, or

123 miles.

The following table shows the expenditure, income, and net cost of arboriculture in the districts of the Province during the past five years:—

Years.			Income.	Expenditure.	Net Cost.
			Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1882-83 1883 -8 4		•••	32, 864 50, 944	99.581 1,39,804	66,71 7 88.860
	Total		83,808	2,39,385	1,55,577
	Average	•••	41,904	1,19,692	77.788
1884-85 1885-86 1886-87	***	•••	51,948 66,256 94,755	1,24,262 1,56,317 1,75,159	72.314 90,061 80,404
	Total	••• :	2,12,959	4.55,738	2,42,779
	Average	•••	70.986	1,51 912	80,926

Andaman Islands Forest Report.

MENERAL STATISTICS—

The outturn of the year was 1,593 logs less than that of the previous year; but this may be reduced by the 820 logs of padouk at Shoal Bay which have not been included in the outturn of 1886-87. The net decrease of 723 logs is presumably owing to sickness among the elephants, and to the time lost in organizing the work at Shoal Bay.

A net surplus of Rs. 5,579-14-2 on transactions is brought to account. This is the first time that there has been a surplus since 1882-83, when a surplus of Rs. 5,768 was shown. At that time, however, the forest operations were carried on by a Settlement Officer, whose pay was not debited

to the Forest Department.

Nearly half the revenue of the year was due to the sale of telegraph posts. The contract with the Telegraph Department is now fulfilled; and, and as there is no demand for more posts, this source of revenue has

dried up.

Padouk timber was sold in London for £10 a ton; but the demand does not appear to be lively. Owing to our having been unable to ship the timber from Shoal Bay to Europe, many months must elapse before it can be ascertained what profit may be expected from operations on a larger scale than heretofore.

The Deputy Conservator of Forests considers that to do a larger business, more means of transport must be procured,—either more elephants, or a tramway. Mr. Carter considers that the amount of work an elephant can do in these forests has been much over-rated, and that the mortality amongst the elephants is probably due to over-work and insufficient food.

Income, Tax N.-W. P.

THE gross receipts under the various parts of the Income Tax Act, and the charges and the net receipts as compared with those under the License Tax Act in the preceding year, were—

License Tax Act in the pred	ceun	ig year, were	_		
The second secon	LICE	NSE TAX, 18	85-86	5.	
Gross Receipts	s.	Charges.	Ne	t Receipts.	
Rs. 4 57,777		Rs. 996		Rs. 4,56,781	
IN	COM	E TAX, 1886	-87.		1 1
	- 1	Gross Receip	ts.	Charges.	Net Receipts.
Deducted by the Accountage General from salaries a		Rs.		Rs.	Rs.
pensions Deducted by the Accountage		1,81,955		•••	1,81,955
General from interest of Government Securities Collections by District Of		25,222	,		25,222
cers	•••	7,36,316		37,851	6,98,465
Total	•••	9,43,493		37,851	9,05,642

Public Instruction, Madras, 1886-87.

MENERAL STATISTICS—

Number of Schools and Scholars.

DURING the year under report there has been a further advance both in schools furnishing returns to the department, and in scholars attending them. The number of institutions of all classes (public and private)

rose from 16,014 to 16,717, or by 4 per cent., and the attendance from 455,837 to 488,942, or by 7 per cent. Under public schools there was an increase of 312 schools and 25,111 scholars, while the number of private schools rose from 1,397 to 1,788, and their attendance from 22,859 to 30,853. It is satisactory to note, that the bulk of increase in numbers appertains to public schools, which means that many more indigenous schools, came under the direct influence of the department.

A comparison of the statistics of the last five years shows that the year under report records the highest figures ever reached under schools or scholars. The large increase in the number and strength of schools is due to the gradual spread of education in rural villages, and to the general prosperity of the country.

It will be observed that the average attendance at public schools rose

from 30 to 31, which indicates permanence in schools.

The annexed summary gives the number of schools (public and private) and scholars arranged under different classes of institutions according to stages of instruction. It will be seen that the lower-secondary (Middle) schools for girls only declined as regards numbers by 7, while all other classes of institutions either remained stationery or improved in number. The strength of all classes of institutions, excepting normal schools for Masters, rose considerably.

The decline in the attendance of normal schools for masters, notwithstanding an increase in their number, is much to be regretted. The largest increase, both in schools and in scholars, was under primary schools for boys, while the largest relative increase in numbers appertained to profes-

sional and technical schools.

	188	5-36.	188	6-87.
Classes of Institutions.	Schools.	Scholars.	Schools.	Scholars.
Arts Colleges Professional Colleges Upper-secondary (High) schools for boys	30 4	2,688 3°4	31	2 ,979
(English) Lower-secondary (Middle) schools for boys	127	6,162	143	7,008
(English and Vernacular) Upper-secondary (High) schools for girls	460	23,032	480	24,362
(English)	22	95	25	119
girls (English and Vernacular)	175	1,824	168	1,927
Primary schools for boys	14,494	383,878	15,077	411,409
Do. for girls	627	35,295	707	37,772
Normal schools for masters	43	1,131	45	1,104
Do. for mistresses	12	291	12	324
Professional and technical schools	20	1,137	25	1,594
	16,014	455,837	16,717	488,942

Education, Punjab, 1886-87.

DRINCIPAL STATISTICS—

THE principal features of the Report may be shortly summarised as follows: There has been a small increase in the number of public educational institutions and a slight decrease in the number of scholars. It is to be regretted that this decrease should have occurred in Primary Schools; but it may confidently be hoped that the falling of will prove only temporary. A third Arts College has been added to the Province, the Lahore Medical School has been raised to the rank of a College, and the number of scholars in Secondary Anglo-Vernacular Schools for boys has increased by over 1,500. Thirty-six candidates passed the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University as compared with 20 in the previous year, and 24 were successful in the B. A. Examination of the Punjab University as against 15 in 1885-86; but no candidate succeeded in passing the M. A. Examination of the Punjab University. The publication of the results of the F. A. and Entrance Examination since the submission of the Report shows, that 42 candidates out of 213 were successful in the former, and 167 out of 928 in the latter. The passes last year were 59 and The successes obtained in the various school examinations were somewhat less than in the preceding year; but they have, nevertheless, now raised the numbers of scholars who have passed beyond the Lower Primary stage to 29 per cent. of the whole. The number of teachers' certificates awarded was much the same as in the previous twelve-month. An increase of Rs. 2,80,000 in expenditure is due, mainly, to the Aitchison and the Medical Colleges, and to the additions made to the inspecting agency, which will, it is hoped, result in a steady improvement in the class of education given in Primary Schools. Fees increased by Rs. 29,000, excluding University fees, and amounted to Rs. 2,23.000. Female education has made some progress; and an important advance is expected from measures recently adopted for its promotion. A number of Government Schools have been localised; and the arrangements made for the development of primary education by relieving Local Bodies of certain charges, hitherto borne by them, will doubtless result in a marked increase of schools and scholars during the current year. On the whole, steady and good educational work seems to have been done throughout the Province during 1886-87; and, allowing for various failures and drawbacks, a fair measure of progress has been attained.

Census Statistics.

There were 714,707 villages, townships, and cities in India in 1881, and 43,532,035 inhabited houses. The villages, townships, and cities were in the proportion of 0.52 to each square mile of territory, and the houses in the proportion of 32 to each square mile. Bengal had much the largest number of villages, &c., these amounting to 248,706, and being at the rate of 1.59 to the square mile. The North-West Provinces came next, with 81,084 villages, &c., or 0.99 to the square mile. In Oudh there was one village, &c., to the square mile of area in the province. These are the three most densely populated provinces in the Empire—the number of persons to the square mile being 470 in Oudh, 426 in Bengal, and 400 in the North-West Provinces. Cochin, indeed, shows a population of 441 to the square mile in an area of 1,361 square miles; but in this small parcel of Native territory, it is only the fort which belongs to the British Government.

In Bengal the number of houses to the square mile was 67, the houses containing an average of 6.32 persons. The North-West Provinces

had 59 houses to the square mile, with an average of 6.82 persons to the house, and Oudh, 85 houses, with an average of 5.51 persons. The average number of persons to each house for all India was 5.83.

Out of the male population of 129,941,851 contained in India, 52,029,098, or 40 per cent., are returned as engaged in agriculture; 7,248,475, or 5.6 per cent., were labourers; 3,027,958, or 2.33 per cent., were in the service of Government or members of professions; 2,489,516, or 1.9 per cent., were engaged in domestic service and occupations; 49,248,645, or 38 per cent., were returned as "independent, and non-productive, and unspecified;" 3,238,734, or 2.5 per cent., were in commerce; and 12,659,425, or 9.7 per cent.. were in industrial occupations.

Thus, we find less than 12½ per cent. of the male population engaged in commercial and industrial pursuits, while 40 per cent. were directly engaged in agriculture, to which should be added, probably, the bulk of the labourers; and doubtless a large proportion of those returned in the "independent non-productive" class were directly dependent on the land, though not actually employed in its cultivation.

The total area of the country in 1881 was 1,372,588 square miles; but the division into cultivable, cultivated, and uncultivable land is so lacking in completeness, that it is not possible to say what relation these divisions bear to each other, expect for some provinces.

Although there were altogether, in 1881, 714,707 towns and villages in India, in great part these are small collections of huts, hardly worthy of being called even villages. As many as 348,466 contained less than 200 inhabitants each, and 184,486 contained each a population varying between 200 and 500. Of towns, properly so called, the number is relatively very small for such a vast area. There was only 63 with a population exceeding 50,000, 123 with a population of from 20,000 to 50,000, and 388 with a population ranging between 10,000 and 20,000. In the first class of the 63, containing a population of upwards of 50,000 each, there were only 23 with a population exceeding 100,000, and of these 23, only 5 had a population each, of more than 200,000, namely, Bombay, Calcutta with its suburbs, Madras, Hyderabad in the Deccan with its suburbs, including Secunderabad, and Lucknow. It is probable that Benares may have to be added to the list of towns containing over 200,000 inhabitants, for at the last census it was only 300 short of that number, and the city has increased largely in numbers of late years. In general, the increase of the population of these large towns is noticeable, and, in a few cases, such as Rangoon, quite remarkable. Some few towns fell off in population during the decade (Lucknow, Bhágalpur, Farukhabad, Mirzapur, and Monghyr); but whereas in 1871 there were only 45 towns in India with a population exceeding 50,000, the number had increased to 63 in 1881.

Public Service Commission.

WE take this paragraph relating to the age of Native Candidates for report:—

The Commission would accordingly adhere to the principle that probationers should be selected and enter on their special training at the age at which their general education is usually completed. Taking a University degree as the ordinary index of a complete general education, a maximum limit of 23 years would appear the most suitable with reference to the course of study at the Indian Universities The following figures show the average age at which Natives at the Indian Universities

versities pass the examinations for First Arts, Bachelor of Arts, and Master of Arts, respectively:—

F. A. B. A. M. A. Examination. Examination. Examination. Calcutta University 19 years. 22 years. 23 years. Bombay 19 ,, 23 11 Madras 19 years, 6 months. 22 (Information not available.)

Punjab ,, 19 years, 6 months. 21 years, 6 months. 22 years, 6 months.

These figures, considered in connection with the low limit of age at present fixed for the English examination, possess additional significance when it is remembered that High Education in India cannot, as a general rule, be said to commence until students enter on their college course, and that a system of domestic education, similar to that which prevails in England, is scarcely known in India, The Senate of the Calcutta University has, in a separate communication * addressed to the Commission, pointed out the disqualifying effect of the present limit of age on students who have completed a course of liberal education at Indian or other Universities. The Commission is, moreover, of opinion that, so far at all events, as Natives of India are concerned, the intellectual powers and other qualifications of candidates can be better tested at a later age. Again, in view of the different circumstances which prevail in England and India, what may be called the "accidents of education" must always tend to place Native candidates at a disadvantage, and even as between Native candidates themselves, similar causes operate to the prejudice of certain classes of cindidates. Considerations of this nature appear to have a material bearing on the question of the age-limits which should be prescribed in connection with the Civil Service examination held in England, and support the conclusion that a higher maximum age-limit is desirable with a view to secure greater equality in the conditions of competition between the several classes of candidates. It has been represented to the Commission that, having regard to the earlier development of Natives of India, the extension of the limit of age might give Native candidates undue advantages as compared with European candidates. The instructions to the Commission preclude it from entering on a discussion of this objection. It can only explain that, in making its present recommendation, it does not contemplate any differential treatment, in this respect, of the two classes of candidates. It is believed that any such differential treatment would be indefensible in principle, and would not be acceptable to those classes of the Indian community more immediately concerned.

In regard to the minimum age-limit, the Commission would prefer 19 years in the place of 17 years, the limit at present in force, or 18 years as originally fixed, on the ground that it is preferable that the successful candidates, who may be Natives, should not enter upon their duties before attaining the age of 21 years, and that the raising of the minimum limit would have the effect of encouraging Native candidates to proceed to England. The Commission has not overlooked the fact that the raising of the age limits which it advocates, may render it necessary to reconsider the character of the examination in regard to English candidates, and that its recommendation incidentally raises the question of age for the latter, the conditions applicable to whom it is precluded from considering. At the same time the Commission entertains no doubt that the maximum age-limit for Native candidates should be substantially raised; and it is further of opinion, that the nearer the maximum limit can be brought into accordance with the recommendations of Lord Macaulay's Committee, the more satisfactory is the result likely to be, as tending to widen the area of choice and to secure the best qualified candidates. In regard to the age-limits generally, the Commission would have preferred to leave its recommendations indefinite, if it were not for the fact that the question embodied in its instructions calls for a definite answer. Accordingly, the recommendation of the Commission on this point is that the minimum and maximum limit of age for Native candidates at the open competitive examination

held in England should be 19 and 23 years, respectively.

^{*} See Vol. VI, Section III, Sub -- Section A, page 11.

Reports on Publications Issued and Registered in the several Provinces of British India during the year 1886. Superintendent of Government Printing. India, 1887.

THESE Reports commence with the one from the Madras Presidency. The Registrar of Books there records "a perceptible increase in the publication of original matter, particularly in the Indian vernaculars." This quotation is from an opening paragraph of his Report. Towards the end of it we find him writing: "It may be added that most of what are called original works appear, from an examination of the catalogue for the year, to be mere abstracts, adaptations, and imitations of the incidents related in the two great Indian epics, and the Puranas, or expositions of the Dwytha and

Adwytha philosophy." Which verdict are we to accept?

Under the heading Art is mentioned "a collection of rules on the Hindu art of dancing, describing the various attitudes, emotions of hands and fingers, and the singing of female dancers." The italics are ours. The Registrar of Books deems it matter for satisfaction that Telegu "attempts at adaptations" of King Lear and other of Shakespeare's plays have been put forth. For our part we fail to extract any iconoclastic satisfaction from the knowledge that they are being vulgarized and licked out of shape. History and Biography are said to be deserted literary fields. A more cheerful account is rendered of Language, embracing Notes on Aryan and Dravidian philology, the first South Indian edition of the Balamanorami, a complete Telegu dictionary, &c. &c. A Manual of the Diseases of the Elephant, figures in the list of Medical works. Literature we are told has been enriched by some new publications of general interest, in which the social and domestic condition of the Hindu community is discussed. First in this roll of honour are held to be Sir M. E. Grant Duff's addreses to the graduates of the local University. Politics introduces us to a pamphlet in English on Village Autonomy. The author describes Indian village organization, and dilates on the value of the ancient institutions as an agency for securing popular and cheap administration. But what is the use of holding these congenial indigenous institutions up to admiration now that the Government and the country are committed to an alien, uncongenial scheme of local Self-government. There is nothing for it now but crying over spilt milk. Religion comprised more than 45 per cent. of the published literature of the year, Mahomedans contributing a larger number of books than usual. All over India, and in every way open to them, Mahomedans appear to be vigorously bestirring themselves at last. This is a healthy sign of the times; so is the publication of elemen-

tary works on sanitation and the preservation of health.

The Director of Public Instruction calls attention to the following remarks by the Registrar: "It may not be out of place to repeat here that the infringement of Copyright in the Government Readers noticed in previous reports, goes on with impunity, owing to the absence of an amended Copyright Law, and an International Convention between British Indian and Foreign States."

Bombay.

The Registrar of Native Publications, Bombay, records a decrease in the number of works registered to the extent of 219 works, and attributes it to the discontinuance of more than 20 periodicals, of which 18, most of them literary magazines, started in 1884-85. *Hinduism* is the title of a brief defence of the Hindu religion, originally delivered at Kurrachee by Mr. N. Gupta. Here is a suggestive extract from it:—

"There should be no mistake about our attitude towards Christianity. If we have not embraced the Church of Christ, it is certainly not because we cannot realise His greatness. How can we be blind to the greatness, the unrivalled splendour, of Jesus Christ? Behind the British Empire from which the sun never turns away his face, behind all the mighty powers of Europe, behind modern enlightenment, behind America, behind science and all its triumphs, behind new continents, behind the gigantic dominions of Russia,--lies the single great personality-the greatest of all known to us-of Jesus Christ. There is no sublimer figure in history than Christ on the cross, with that last look of infinite pity and infinite love, and that last prayer of forgiveness for those who knew not what they did. His resurrection is surely no fable. He lives in Europe, and America, and Asia, and Africa as a King and guide and teacher. He lives in our midst. He seeks to re vivify religion in India in all its ancient earnestness. We owe everything—even this deep yearning towards our own ancient Hinduism -to Christianity. If it had not been for the light of this religion, we should have never known how deep we have sunk into the quagmire of superstition. The Brahmo Samáj movement is due to Christianity, and is one of the indications of the revival of true Hinduism. Pandit Dayánand Saraswati preached the religion of the Vedas, and if it is said that he was not influenced by Christianity, still it must be admitted that his movement was an indirect outcome of a fresh religious impulse. Christianity is fulfilling a great mission in India; but its highest mission is yet unfulfilled, or but fulfilled in part. That mission is the re juvenescence of Hinduism."

Instigated thereto by Lord Reay's resolution of October 1885 in favour of technical education, a Parsi gentleman, Mr. J. K. Gujjar, B. Sc. M.A., has put forth A proposal for a Polytechnic Academy at Surat, which is a rough sketch of his idea of what a Training College for Technical Education ought to be. Surat is selected as an eligible site for such an institution, as affording special facilities for the development of manufacturing industries. Bombay is evidently going to

take the lead in India in the much-needed provision of technical education for its people. Our readers will remember how strongly the Vice-chancellor of the Bombay University spoke some three months ago, in favour of a college-course of technical instruction to students. By the way, there seems a probability now, that the handsome sum of money subscribed for a Ripon Memorial Fund will, after all these years of shillyshally and doing nothing with it, be devoted to the uses of technical education. Better use could not be found for it we venture to think. The Reptiles of Sind is a systematic account, with descriptions, of all the species inhabiting the province, and contains a table of their geographical distribution in Persia, Beluchistán, Afghánistán, Panájb, the North-West Provinces, and the Peninsula of India generally. The work includes the discoveries that have been made since the issue of the author's work, entitled—" The Vertebrate Zoology of Sind," in 1884. The author observes that during this interval, a great many mammals (Micro-mammalia especially), birds and reptiles which were not previously known, have been found to inhabit the province, several in each class being new to science.

The total number of Marathi books published in 1886 was 419 against 487 of the previous year. Biography, like Voyages and Travels, is "at a discount." The Drama flourishes. Nineteenth century Hindustanis of all castes and creeds, are as fond of theatrical representations, as were the Greeks of olden time, and it is to this congenial outcome of national literature, that a man desirous of ascertaining the bent of popular opinion will turn his attention. It is in the main decidedly conservative, opposed to English innovations. Sushikshit Stri, or the Well-bred Woman, graphically depicts the happy home-life of an orthodox Brahman couple Shikshan Natika is a caricature on female education and educated young men. Of the three girl-students of the Poona High School introduced, one, a child-widow, gets re-married, a second robs her brother, and elopes with a lover, the third obtains a divorce from her husband, on the ground that he is not as learned as she is, and then turns Christian. Aranyarodana Natak sets forth the grievances of the people with respect to forest conservancy. Gunotkarsha Natak is devoted to exemplification of the excellence of merit.

Of 27 works of fiction published, only 6 are weighted with a moral: so much the better for them and their readers, we take it. One does not look for sermons in a novel: it is untrue to art when it usurps the functions of a pulpit. As Goethe puts it: "Truth need not always be embodied; enough if it hover round like a spiritual essence, which gives

one peace and fills the atmosphere with a solemn sweetness: like harmonious music of bells." Colonel Meadows Taylor's Indian tale *Tara* has been translated into Guzerathi: so has—Don Quixote. We doubt whether orientals will be able to appreciate its humour. In the man of the East and and man of the West, sense of humour seems altogether

differently, contrarily even, arranged.

Mr. Vishnu Raghunáth Nátu, B.A., the author of Rashiya gives a historical account of the rise and progress of the Russian Empire, and seeks to dispel the false and exaggerated notions prevailing in some Native circles as to the overpowering might and majesty of the Czar's Empire, and the political character of the people. In another book, Naval Pehalun Dhiráni Desh Kalyáni Varta, a Russian invasion of India is repelled by Native Volunteers alone. Amongst the new periodicals started in Bombay is one called Arya Bhagini. or the Aryan Sister, a literary journal conducted by a Deccan Hindu lady, and intended for the instruction and entertainment of Native ladies. The Stribodha is another periodical, most of the contributors to which are ladies-young Parsi ladies. An Urdu literary and scientific journal entitled Shumshel, or the Sun of the Sciences, has been started at Ahmedabad. Wholesome signs of the times are an Essay on Health and Sárvajanik Arogya. The former gives sound advice on such subjects as the sanitation of private residences, wholesome food, pure water, &c.; the latter deals with Municipal sanitation. Guldastá Hikmatya Illayat Misakin Sindi Tib is a work on Unani, or Greek medicines, low-priced, and intended for the use of poor people.

Of the Classical languages Sanskrit takes the lead in the number of books published; Persian comes next, and then Arabic, Tarka Kaumudi is a work on the Vaisheshika branch of the Nyáya philosophy of Kanada, edited with various readings and notes, critical and explanatory, by Mr. M. N. Drivedi, Professor of Sanskrit, Sámáldas College, Bhávnágár.

Punarviváha Shástra Sammatchhe, or the widow-marriage, as sanctioned by the Shástras, treats in a small compass the hard-contested question whether the marriage of Hindu widows of the twice-born classes is sanctioned by the Shástras. Numerous authorities from the Hindu Shástras and Puráns sanctioning widow-marriage are quoted, and the arguments of the opponents of widow-marriage are noticed. The Kanyá Sikrya Nishedha Darshaka, or an interdiction of the sale of a maiden (in marriage), quotes authoritative utterances in Sanskrit of the Shástras condemning the practice of giving away maidens in marriage in consideration of a sum of money prevailing among poor Hindu families, gives a Gujaráti translation of the Sanskrit quotations, and points out the various social and moral evil effects of this censurable practice.

In Bombay, although the Maráthi publications were more numerous than the Guzerathi ones, the latter were more

voluminous. Some of the former were in fact small tracts of indifferent merit.

Bengal.

The Bengal Government appears to be dependent on the Bengal Library for information as to the literary outcomes of the Province. 2,571 publications were received during the year 1886—160 less than the number received in the previous year. The Library classification of books is peculiar. For instance, under the heading Art are included works on Agriculture and Magic. We are glad to hear of a growing demand for works on Agriculture, and that books are being written with a view to rousing an interest in manufactures. Local Selfgovernment is credited with having created a demand for such books as Rástá, a treatise on road-making. Publications under the heading Biography are fairly numerous, and are said to be growing in popular favour. Noteworthy amongst them is Baboo Khrishnakumar Mitra's Muhammad Charit, an attempt to overcome and do away with some of those popular Hindu prejudices against the Prophet and his religion, which are a heritage from days of Mahomedan supremacy. Main Wahihum, written in Hindi, is the autobiography of one Damodar Shastri, an enterprizing Mahratta traveller and literary man.

As to Drama we are told that the success achieved by that clever, social comedietta Bibáhabibhrát has induced a host of imitations-all of them decidedly inferior in literary merit and artistic finish to their model, but none of them falling short of it in hatred towards Anglicism. Educated Hindu females are painted in the darkest colours possible. The Calcutta agitation against the adulteration of ghee gave birth to two dramas. Keráni Charit is a protest against the petty tyrannies exercised by European heads of offices over their Native clerks. Ganyer Morala on the other hand is a protest against the tyranny of villageheadmen in the mofussil. Deprived of all administrative powers, they have betaken themselves to invention of scandals and other nefarious means of annoyance to victims who dare not oppose their tyrannies, because of their importance in the village community,— a possibly useful side-light on Local Self-government fads! Emboldened by the success of mythological dramas derived from the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, and the Puranas, playwrights, we are told have introduced on the stage great religious reformers such as Gaudama, Buddha and Chaitanya with considerable success. Mahomedans object to any representation on the stage of their Prophet, and therefore the author of Dharmabir Muhammad

has been unable to induce any theatrical manager to accept

his play.

Three works of fiction by Baboo Chandi Charan Sen are described as remarkable productions in their own way; their object being to inspire hatred against the early English rulers of the country. The Report says: "The tendency of these works is extremely mischievous; and had Baboo Chandi Charan been a gifted writer, he could have done an incalculable amount of mischief to the Government and the people. Fortunately the Babu is no artist whatever. His long, insipid speeches and soliloquies make his volumes tedious and wearisome reading, and they are sure to repel most readers." The year 1886 is characterized as singularly devoid of idealistic works of fiction. As a realistic novel Sansár is commended. The authors of certain realistic works written with the avowed object of exposing the evils of society are declared to have "no desire to bring about a change for the better." They are generally devoted to abuse of Anglicism, and are generally indecent and obscene. Satitiwa Saroja by Mahamáyá, an authoress, is pronounced readable "though it is full of those minute details of little things with which women are so fond of occupying themselves." The Ayurbeda Sanjabiani is "a collection of very clever essays on the antiquity, usefulness, and present condition of Hindu medical science." Under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Aswa Baidyaka, the ablest work known on Hindu Veterinary Science, is in course of publication. It is edited by Babu Umesh Chandra Gupta, Librarian of the Sanskrit College Library. Many treatises on Homeopathy have been put forth. The enquiry instituted by Government into the castes and occupations of the people, has given rise to much speculation on the subject of the origin of the different castes in Bengal and their social position. Two works were received last year indicative of the direction which the speculation is taking. One of these works—Játi Prabandha—endeavours to prove that the Swarnabaniks are Baishyas, and that they ought to hold a much higher social position than what they are allowed to hold at present. The other work—Bange Baishyanianaya—endeavours to prove that the Sadpopas of Bengal are Baishyas, with the same object in view. It is thought in certain quarters that with the spread of English education, and the consequent advance of more liberal ideas, caste prejudices are giving way. But the spirit in which these works are written would seem to indicate that instead of weakening, education has simply strengthened these prejudices. Every caste is endeavouring to gain a higher position in the caste hierarchy than what it holds at the present moment.

Of school books there are legion; and some of the best graduates of the Calcutta University are said to be devoting their talents to manufacture of cribs and keys—which are carelessly compiled, more carelessly printed, and altogether

demoralizing in their effect on the student-mind.

Songs abound; some of them remarkable for their melody and sweetness. The best collection of love songs is to be found in the small work called Gathahar. Next to love songs, religious ones are most popular. Of these, the baul songs are the most popular and interesting. They are sung by mendicants in every part of the country to the tune of the ektárá, or one-stringed instrument, before enraptured audiences. The word baul is formed from the Sanskrit word batul, a madman, by a process of softening and elimination peculiar to the Bengali tongue. Whenever a man in the course of a religious song or dance loses his sense of external existence. or falls into a temporary fit, he is said to become a baul. The bauls are most numerous in a sect of Vaisnabs called the Kartábhajárdal, whose spiritual chief resides at a place named Ghoshpara, about 30 miles to the north of Calcutta. For the simplicity and homeliness of the tune, the language, the sentiment, and the idea, and for the aptness of their similes, the baul sangits are unsurpassed by anything in Bengali literature.

The writer of the Report deems it a strange thing, that side by side with the advancement of education and the spread of liberal ideas, there should exist a demand for riddles and mystic mantras, and so forth. Perhaps the liberal ideas do not really spread beyond the tongue. In Tattwa Chintamani an attempt is made to controvert some of the rationalism

of John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer.

The best work in verse received during the year under review is adjudged to be The Last Day, a satire by Rám Sarma. Oddly enough not a single work appeared on the subject of politics. Is it because Young-Bengal must have a platform and hear the sound of his own voice before he can feel an interest in the subject? Every shade of religious opinion was represented. In the book entitled Jogsadhan Sambandhe Ketipaya Prasnottara, Baboo Bijay Khrishna Goswami says, that the means possessed by the Brahmo Somaj of realizing God in the soul are insufficient, and he, therefore, urges the necessity for practise of Yoga. For some time past the Brahmos have been moving in the direction of mysticism. About the so-called Hindu revival we quote the Report at length. It says:—

"The most important of the religious publications of the past year were those issued by the Hindu revivalists. The revivalists may be divided into two distinct schools,—namely, the conservative school and the liberal school. The conservative school believes in the infallibility of the Rishis,

and in the superiority of the Hindu shastras to the scriptures of all other nations, and denounces the least deviation from established practice as un-Hindu. Pandit Sasadhar Tatkachuramani belongs to this class of revivalists. In his Dharmabyakhya he is endeavouring to defend every Hindu practice on the principles of Western science, though his knowledge of science appears to be of a very superficial character. In the work entitled Dharmabishayak pratibad, an anonymous author attempts to prove that the Hindu religion is the best of religions, and that Christianity is very faulty and imperfect. The late Ramkrishna Paramahansa of Dakshineswar also helped greatly to further the cause of this school of religious thought. Books containing many of his sayings and religious opinions have been published. In the Tattwaprakashika, edited by Ram Chandra Datta, are given the views of the Paramahansa in matters religious. In his Paralok Tattwa, Babu Chandra Shekhar Basu explains the Hindu doctrine of the future existence of man.

The leaders of the liberal section of the Hindu revivalists are men of great culture, experience, and sound judgment. They have studied the Hindu shastras with very great care. They have a firm faith in Hinduism, and great respect for the Rishis; but they cannot ignore the altered circumstances of the present time. They do not consider the Rishis as infallible, and they are, therefore, for introducing such changes in Hindu society as may, from time to time, be considered necessary. These are their views in matters temporal. But in matters spiritual they think that the bulk of the Hindus of the present day do not know anything of the teachings of the great Rishis, and so they want to revive Hinduism in its ancient and spiritual form. The means adopted for the propagation of their views is chiefly in the periodicals, in one of which Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterji, the leader of this movement, is giving a rationalistic or rather revivalist exposition of the Bhagavatgita. Babu Bankim Chandra has recently written a work entitled Krishna Charita, in which Krishna is represented as the Ideal Man or God Incarnate, for it is God alone that can be the Ideal Man. He considers Krishna to be a higher ideal than even Buddha, Chaitanya, or Christ. His method of examining ancient Sanskrit works is the present European method. He has studied many works about Krishna-worship with great care, and has rejected a great part of those works, and especially of the Mahabharata, as interpolations; and he thinks that all the superstitions which have latterly gathered around Krishna-worship have their origin in such interpolations. Babu Kali Prasanna Chatterji's Dharmaprachar may be considered as a work belong. ing to this school. In it the author discusses, from the standpoint of an educated Hindu and revivalist, questions relating to the esoteric doctrines of Hinduism. His method of examination of the shastras is substantially the same as that of Babu Bankim Chandra. Devatattwa is another work of this school, in which the theogony of the Hindus has been explained from a rationalistic point of view."

North-Western Provinces and Oudh.

Fifteen hundred works of all classes were published during the year; an increase of about 16 per cent. on the number of publications in 1885, and of nearly 100 per cent. on the number issued in 1884. More books were written in Urdu than in any other language, but the number was nearly stationary, while works in Hindi increased 58 per cent. That seems to point to a healthy downward infiltration of educational influences among the masses. English is not much

affected as yet as a vehicle for transmission of thought and information. A slight decrease in Sanskrit works is held to have been more than compensated for by an increase under the heads Arabic and Persian. Comparatively few of the books put forth were original works, the majority of them being reprints of standard treatises. We are glad to hear that science and medicine received unusual attention, especially from Urdu writers, This is another sign of the awakening of Indian Mahomedans to a knowledge of the side upon which their bread is buttered, references to which have already been made. It is noticeable that an American lecture on Electrical Physiology has found a translator. There was a decrease in the number of publications on language, miscellaneous subjects, and poetry, and an increase in those treating of religion. Three original dramas were published, but we are told nothing about them. More germane to the times, perhaps, is The Clerk's Friend, in English and Urdu, containing a compendium of English words of general use in correspondence, with their equivalents and meaning in Roman character. It also gives directions for letter writing, and a list of familiar synonyms and proverbs, Yet another sign of the times it is that, notwithstanding the prejudice of orthodox Jains against making their religious books common, 33 of them have been published through the Jain Prabhakar Press, Benares. More books were published at Cawnpore than at any other town in the North-Western Provinces. Lucknow comes next in the matter of numbers. Allahabad is only fifth in the list.

Punjab.

In the Punjab last year, 1857 books were published; nearly 300 more than in the preceding year. Most of them were written in Urdu. About them the Superintendent of the Government Educational Press writes:—

The subjects in which the largest number of publications appear are Religion and Poetry. In all indigenous Mahomedan schools, which are generally held in mosques, whether in towns or villages, and in all Mahomedan families, the different chapters of the Qurán are taught. Similarly, in Hindu and Sikh families the thousand names of Vishnu, the Stotras, and evening and morning prayers from the Granth are learnt. Hence there is a large demand for chapters of the Qurán separately printed for the sake of cheapness, and for small tracts containing Hindu and Sikh prayers. These, as well as the missignary tracts, contribute to swell the number of religious publications.

There is an inordinate passion for poetry both among the educated and illiterate people of the Province. In many of the cities and large towns of the Paujab, especially in and about Delhi, there are poetical societies called mushá'aráhs, of which the members assemble periodically to recite their ghazals or other poetical compositions. The highest aspiration of these poets is to gain the applause of the auditors. In almost all villages, groups of inhabitants assemble to hear poetical

recitations, which they enjoy and value as a sort of mental treat.

The smallest number of books registered is under the head of Art and of

Voyages and Travels. The fact that manufacturers and artisans learn their family handicraft practically without the aid of books accounts for the small demand for books under the former head. And the people of India are devoid of that restless energy and enterprise which characterise the European nations. They are homeabiding, and have little inclination to travel; therefore their literature on this subject is so poor.

Under the heading Art, two original works were registered The Artisan's Metallurgical Handbook and Workshop Companion, and Gilt dá risála, a treatise on gilding, in Punjabi. Tazkira, i-Asár ush shuara-i-Hanud gives brief biographical notices and specimens of Urdu poetry by Hindu writers. Most of the poets are Kayasths of the North-West Provinces, who have for many generations studied Persian, and have imitated Mahomedam writers. Hayát-i-sā'di, containing a sketch of the life of Sá'di of Shiráz is said to be the first book of critical and biographical research that has yet appeared in Urdu. Tazkira-i-Malika-i-Victoria: a life of the Queen-Empress figures under the heading Biography. Nine original dramas are recorded; the Arabian Nights seems a favorite quarry for their plots. Under the heading Fiction, five original works were registered, "of which the only one worth mentioning is the Folk Tales of Hindustan in English, written apparently by a Native." There is a versified history of India in Urdu, intended for children. There is a slight increase in the number of books on law and medicine. Under the convenient heading Miscellaneous, 184 publication are entered. Bazm-i-Akhir gives minute details of the amusements of the last two Kings of Delhi, and the large number of dishes spread at their feasts. The author of Jagat Parsharth "makes an indiscriminate onslaught on all sects of the Hindus and on the education given to Native girls by the Missionaries, and he advocates the system of female education offered by the Arya Somaj." Of Bavastha, or the Rule, we are told: "The writer appears to be under the impression that he uses reasonable arguments." Anek Darshan, by the late Lála Bihári Lal, gives an account of the different systems of philosophy obtaining in the Punjab. It opens with the Charnock, the ancient sceptical system which denied the existence of God, the moral sense, and the next world; and ends with the doctrines of the Arya Samái. The author simply states the doctrines, without any attempt at critical examination. It is pleasant to read that now-adays the better class of Mahomedan religious authors in the Punjab, as in other parts of India, avoid the bitterness of tone they formerly employed against people who profess other religions than that of Islam, and against their co-religionists of a different sect.

In Burma 107 original works were published; chiefly dramatic, poetical, and miscellaneous compositions, of an ephe-

meral character. Nothing in the year's outcome there calls for special mention, except the Kachin spelling book; an attempt by two Missionaries to reduce a savage dialect to writing. The characters employed are Burmese, with slight modifications. In Assam 11 books were published, six of them educational, all of them unimportant. The chapter on Coorg takes the form of an official communication from the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner which runs thus: "I am directed to report that no publications were registered in Coorg during the year 1886." In Ajmere-Merwara one book was registered. It contains 42 pages of English grammar, rules in Urdu, and some exercises.

Monograph on Brass and Copper Ware in the Punjab, 1886-7. Published by authority. Lahore, "Civil and Military Gazette' Press, 1888.

THE Punjab Government has published under its authority, a Monograph prepared by Mr. D. C. Johnstone, a Junior Civilian under that Government, on Brass and Copper Ware manufactured in the Punjab.

The raw material, consisting of copper, tin, and zinc, is chiefly imported from Europe, the indigenous metals, and those formerly imported from Cabul, China, &c., being undersold and driven out of the market.

Imports for the year 1886-87:-

I	mporte	ed from	Copper, unwrought.	Brass, unwrought.	Tin.	
				Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Bombay	•••	•••	•••	1,092	851	••••
Bombay Port	•••	***	•••	2,98,272	2,74,850	7,860
Bengal	•••	•••	•••	182		75
Howrah	•••	•••	***	3,27,860	65,688	17,304
North-Western	Provi	nces and Oudh	•••	20,436	18,883	909
Central Provin	ces	•••	***	1,326		12
Berar	***	***	•••	156		*****
Rajputana and			•••	8,762	1,633	153
Sindh, excludit	ng Kar	áchi	•••	14,274	1,932	9
Karáchi	••• .		•••	1,76,098	99,383	1,527
		Total	•••	8,48,458	4,63,220	27,858

Composition of Brass.

Zinc group :-

1. Common yellow brass (pital), 21/2 parts of copper to I part of zinc.

2. Ship-sheathing brass, 3 parts of copper to 2 of zinc.

3. Dipping brass (Bharat) 1 1/4 parts of copper to 1 of zinc.

Tin group :-

1. Grey brass (Kansa), 5 parts of copper to 1 of zinc.

2. Bell metal, 21/2 parts of copper to I of zinc.

3. Alloy called (Bharat), 5 parts of copper, 4 of zinc, and I of tin.

Lead group :-

1. Bharat, equal parts of copper and lead; or, more commonly, I part of copper to two-thirds of zinc, and $\frac{1}{100}$ of tin.

Real white brass (kansa) for which Moorshedabad, and Kán-

channagar in Bengal are noted is not made in the Punjab.

Copper is imported in sheets and blocks. That imported from Khetri Singhana in Rajputana, costs Rs. 50 a maund, and a seer of this is added to every maund of alloy. Tin is imported in sheets, and is English.

Old metal is used largely in the mannfactures, as being cheaper than new metal. Locally-made brass is cheaper than the imported article; but the latter is preferred as being more malleable, and because what is lost in the price of the material

is gained in the manufacture.

The articles manufactured are:—cooking utensils; dishes; plates and trays; baking dishes; caskets; water vessels; musical instruments; Hookas and tobacco pipes; toys; Hindu idols and sacrificial vessels; candlesticks; lamps; ink-stands; nut-crackers, spittoons, &c., &c.

Imports in 1886-87.

From N.-W. P. and Oudh ... { Copper Ware... } Rs. 2,55,990. From Kashmir ... { Copper Ware ... } Rs. 1,861.

Exports in 1886-87.

Copper and Brass Ware to Central India through Kula, Rs. 15,185.

", Cabul, Swát and Bajour, Rs. 49,989.
"Kashmir, viâ Jammu, and Murree, Rs. 1,50,887.

Among districts, Rewari exports Rs. 51,000 worth of brass and Rs. 45,000 of kansa to all points of the compass; and Dehli, to the extent of Rs. 1,01,200, and both places export a large but unspecified amount of Copper-ware.

The total number of males employed in the manufactures is reported to be 14,460. Their wages vary from 2½ to 3½ annas for common workmen, while the skilled artificers earn from 4 to 6 annas per diem. The heavier work of hammermen is remunerated at the rate of 6 to 7 annas a day.

As regards patterns, chased and otherwise, the Punjabi ware is inferior to that of Kashmir, Persia, and Mooradabad. As a rule, Hindus use brass, and Mahomedans copper wares; but a high caste of the followers of Vishnu, in Mooltan, use only copper and silver articles.

For the processes of smelting and manufacture, we will refer the reader to the Monograph, which contains most copious and accurate details under these heads.

Report on the Administration of the N.-W. Provinces and Oudh, for the year ending 31st March 1887. Allahabad Government Press, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1888.

Not many months ago Sir Alfred Lyall gave to the world an account of his stewardship as Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh from his own point of view. We have now before us the official record of his last year of office,—a Report on the Administration of the North-West Provinces and Oudh for 1886-87, previously discounted.

An unusually heavy rainfall is the first item noticed; and it seems to be, to some extent, deplored. To our thinking, however, an unusually heavy rainfall is always, in the long run, an agricultural gain; and agricultural results in India have, probably, more to do with the welfare of the country, and are, probably, more considered by the people of the country than political or even directly administrative measures. people of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh were happy, inasmuch as there were no severe epidemics, "and the health both of men and cattle was good." The markets for foodgrains kept steady, and the record describes the year as, on the whole, one of little less than ordinary prosperity. Perhaps the best proof of that lies in the fact that the land-revenue was collected without difficulty. Returns of railway-borne traffic continued to show steady development in the external trade of the Provinces. A decrease of exports was more than made up for by an increase of imports. The condition of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh was, in fact, very much like that of the lady in what is called "an interesting situation," who reports herself "as well as can be expected under the circumstances." Wheat exports amounted to not more than six anda-half million maunds. A very pretty total, commercially considered, and freighted with hopeful promise for the future. Furthermore, exports of Cotton, and of Oil-seeds show an

Tea and Opium excepted, increase is noted in the trade in almost all commodities. A rise in the imports of Salt

from 3,271,203 maunds to 3,835.357 maunds affords satisfactory.

assurance of the well-being of the lower classes.

The Silk Industry appears at last, "after many years of doubtful experiment," to have taken root in the Dun, and hopeful auguries wait upon it. The only serious clog on the tale of wide-spread prosperity seems to have been the misfortune to Indigo manufacture at Aligarh. Indigo is a manufacture peculiarly subject to misfortunes; but it has a faculty for always

recovering from their ill effects.

It is written that the money-grants at District Committee disposal for Public Works were well and fully utilized, and that Local Boards do their work satisfactorily. Rather more than two lakhs of Rupees were spent during the year on new works of communication, the chief item under this head being the new Military Cart Road between Ranibagh, the terminus of the Rohilkand-Kumaon Railway, and the hill cantonment at Ranikhet. New Public buildings cost 6½ lakhs. About Railways, we are told:—

In regard to new lines proposed to be constructed, the surveys of the Pilibhit-Seramau section, connecting the branches from Bareilly and Lucknow, were completed, and, in addition, an Association for constructing a line from Hardwar to Rajpur, at the foot of the Mussoorie hills, having applied for certain concessions, the Local Government, under the orders of the Government of India, deputed an officer to report on and revise the project prepared by the Association. This was done during the year, and the selected alignment, after being estimated for, was located and marked out by masonry pillars.

Regarding the open lines, the working of the Cawnpore-Achneyra Railway was transferred to the Bombay, Boroda, and Central India Railway Company during the month of October 1886; this Government, however, receiving a certain proportion of the profits of the undertaking up to 31st March 1887. In accordance with the new Provincial contract, the interest of the Local Government in the Railway ceased from that date, and there are, at present, therefore, no lines in these Provinces under direct Government management.

The special measures, under Act. XVI of 1882 for relief of indebted land-owners in the Jhansi district proved successful. A Code for administration of relief in famine times was sanctioned. Rules were framed for registration and recruitment of emigrants beyond the limits of British India. The working of the Stamp Department was normal. Excise receipts show an increase. The working of the Forest Department is favourably remarked on. The number of vaccinations is set down as 713' 916, rather more than 16 per thousand on the total population. Seven new dispensaries were opened. The number of female pupils at the Agra Medical School increased from 25 to 46. There was a slight falling off in the number of lunatics under confinement in asylums. There were 109 Municipalities at work during the year. There was considerable increase in the number of cases of crime reported by the Police. Dakaitis and "gang robberies" were frequent. The record of Sir Alfred Lyall's reign is not altogether rose-coloured.

Statistics of Land Records and Agricultural Department, N.-W. Provinces and Oudh, for the year ending 30th September 1886-87.

THE last Report on the operations of this Department comprises the following principaltopics or heads, viz.: (i.) Maintenance of village-records; (ii.) Analysis of districts; (iii.) Measures of protection, including arboriculture; (iv.) Agriculture, including experiments and farms; (v.) Introduction of Agricultural improvements; and, (vi.) Registration of Traffic.

I.—The maintenance of village-records is carefully looked after. The prospects and promotion of the subordinate staff of patwaris, mohurirs, and kanungos are engaging the attention of the authorities. The resettlements of the Districts of Shaharanpur, Muzzuffurnagur, Jhansi, Lalitpore, and Jalaun have been taken in hand, on the basis of maps and records kept by patwaris. The inspection of village-records has been frequent and efficient. There is a growing demand for increased accommodation for the patwari records, which are fast accumulating.

II.—An attempt has been made to gauge the annual foodproduction of the Provinces by applying the rate of produce given in Settlement Reports and other papers, to the average crop-areas of the past six years.

III.—A successful experiment was in progress for reclaiming usar lands near Cawnpore, by the application of gypsum to the soil. In arboriculture, the total expenditure, amounted to Rs. 65,811. against total receipts amounting to Rs. 39,021. Nearly eighty per cent. of the total expenditure was required for planting avenues; the total number of roads provided with trees being 4,014 miles. The maintenance of groves, and nurseries cost, Rs. 12,608, there being 59 groves planted altogether, covering an area of 232 acres. There were 189 nurseries maintained, which supplied about 2,000 plants for groves, and nearly 100,000 plants for avenues.

IV.—Of Agricultural experiments, there were: (i.) the Meernt Demonstration Farm, which is said to be "doing real useful work," though it does not appear yet to cover its expenses; (ii) the Cawnpore Experimental Station; (iii) private farms; (iv) Shaharanpore Botanical Garden; (v) Lucknow Horticultural Gardens; (vi) Kumaon Orchards; and, (vii) Date Palm plantations.

V.—There were agricultural exhibitions, experiments in cattle-breeding, distribution of seeds and implements, and practical deep ploughing.

VI.—The following traffic was registered during the year 1886-87:—

- (1.) Foreign traffic with Thibet and Nepal.
- (2.) Traffic with Bengal by the rivers Gogra and Ganges.
- (3.) Traffic by rail with the neighbouring British provinces, and Native states.

As records (1), the total trade with Thibet and Nepal, amounted to 4,610,438 maunds, valued at Rs. 1,17,09,175 against 4,236,795 maunds valued at Rs. 1,12,31,403 in the preceeding year—the imports and exports of the two countries being as follow:—

		Im	ports.	Exports.		
		1885-86.	1886-87.	1885 86.	1886-87.	
TTI-:I- a4	{ Mds. Rs.	64,701	61,783	62,519	46,830	
Thibet			5.29,704	2,60,932	2,19,913	
Manal	Mds.	3,853, 41	4,270,129	255,634	231,696	
Nepal	··· { Rs.	73,15,121	77,16,128	31,63,260	32,43,430	

Sambhar salt appears to be gradually underselling that imported from Thibet as will appear from the following:—

Thibet. IMPORTS Mds. Total net decrease 2,918 Decrease under salt 7,464 Less—increase under	Thibet. EXPORTS. Total net decrease Decrease under grain		Mds. 15,689 13.391
Borax 4,099	Nepal.		
Total net increase 4,16,188 Increase under timber and firewood 416,315	Total net decrease Decrease under salt	•••	23,938 12,594

The amount of traffic with Bengal by the river Gogra, will appear from the following:—

The total traffic by this river amounted to 53 lakhs of maunds, and consisted principally in the export of wheat and other grains, oilseeds and sugar sent to Bengal, and of iron, salt, and tobacco received from Bengal:—

				Mds.
Total export by the river Gogi	ra	•••	••• 4	,688,515
Export of wheat	•••	•••	••• 1	,187,370
Ditto other grains	***	•••	***, 1	,299,886
Ditto oilseeds	*** .	•••	*** 1	,574,785
Ditto sugar	•••	•••	• •	460,196
Total import by the river Gog	a	***	•••	636.952
Import of iron	***	•••	•••	42,396
Ditto salt	***	•••	•••	331,667
Ditto tobacco	***	***	•••	75,026

As regards rail-borne traffic, the total external trade of the provinces during the year amounted to, 47,305.062 maunds, value at Rs. 30,33,02,713 against, 46,298,927 maunds, valued

at Rs. 28,83,24,031 in the preceeding year,—in exports and imports in the two years being as follow:—

		Weigh	t in Mds.	Value	in Rs.
Total exports Total imports	•••	1885-86. 26,016,526 20,282,401	1886-8 7. 24,789,939 22,515,123	18 85- 86 14,19,97,284 13,91,26,747	1886 87, 15,21,81,752 15,11,20,961

The value of both imports and exports shows a marked increase over the figures of the preceding year, although the weight of exports during the present year exhibits a decrease of over 12 lakhs of maunds.

This is due to the decrease having occured, for the greater part, in articles of small value, while a comparatively small increase in some of the more costly articles, more than made up for the value of the former, as the following figures will show:—

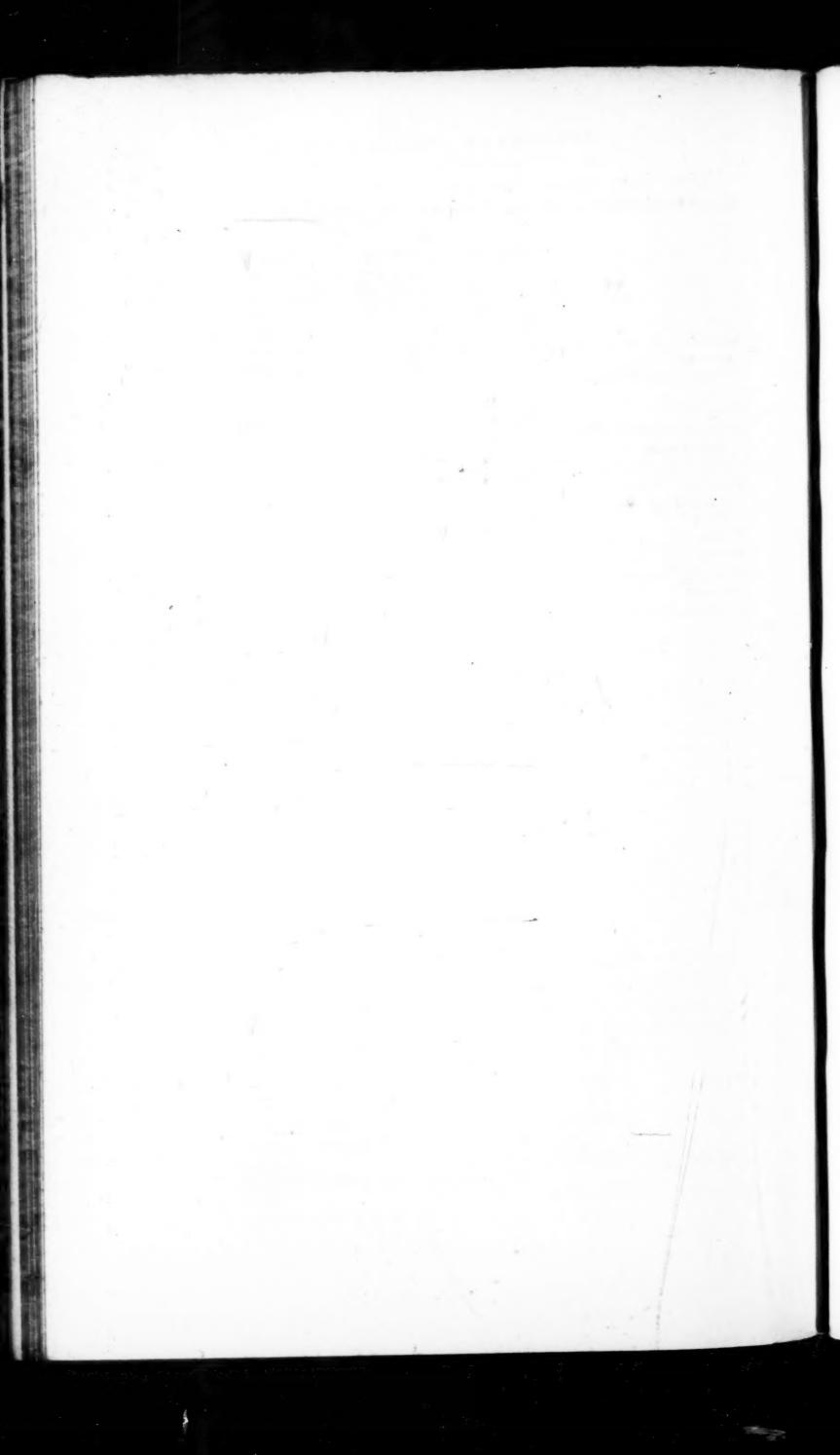
Exports. L	akhs of mds.	Lakhs of Rs.	Imports.	Lakhs of mds.	Lakhs of Rs.
Total increase in			Total increase		120
value	***	30	-	der	1
Total decrease in			cotton	1	511
weight	12	•••	Ditto woo	olen	3-2
Increase under			goods,	•••	81
cotton goods	61	803	Ditto me	tals 14	12
Ditto oilseeds	1113	36	Ditto salt	$5\frac{1}{2}$	16
Ditto sugar	54	183	Ditto gra	ins 9	223
Ditto ghee	2	93	Ditto coa		5 3
Ditto cotton					
goods and metals	$\frac{1}{3}$	4			
Ditto skins and					
leather	ł	8			
Decrease under					
wheat	163	22			115
Ditto other					
grains	14	25			
Ditto opium	4	642			
Ditto tea		14			
Ditto railway					
plant and rolling					
stock	83	$25\frac{3}{4}$			

The total value of exports during the year under report exceed, that of imports by over 10 lakhs of rupees; and, if the value of Railway plant and rolling stock be excluded from both exports, and imports the balance in favour of exports amounts to one crore twenty-three lakhs of Rupees:—

	Exports.	Imports.
Total value of all goods	15,21,81,752	15,11,20,961
Minus—value of Railway plant and rolling stock Value of goods excluding Railway plant and	21,89,159	1,34 33,571
rolling stock	14,99 92,593	13 76,87,390
Excess of Export over import	1,23 05,203	P = SALLY LANGE

The share of the two ports and the several provinces in the total trade of the United Provinces is noted below:—

			Ex	port.	bort.		Import.		
		1885-86.		1886-87.		1885-86		1886 87.	
		Lakhs	Lakhs	Lakhs	Lakhs	Lakhs	Lakhs	Lakhs	Lakins
		of Mds.	of Rs.	of Mds.	of Rs.	of Mds.	of Rs.	of Mds.	of Rs.
Calcutta	•••	1113	7801	1071	8363	37	650	38	681
70 1	•••	3 3	1023	334	151	4	168	8	1993
Bengal, excluding C			٠,	009					- 774
		35	1621	213	1091	74	1531	83	1915
Punjab	••.	364	173	39	1784	323		341	
Rajputana and Ce	n-	-					-		
	•••	29	144	354	155	403	143	521	178
Central Provinces		42	391	44	353	2	26	21	233
Bombay Presidence excluding Bomba									
Port	•••	$6\frac{1}{2}$	593	34	231	113	534	61	283
Sindh	•••	21	$12\frac{3}{4}$	1 1/2	7 1	1	4	1/2	4
Berar	•••	I	5 2	1 1/2	713	4	6	1	31
Nizam's Territory	•••	•••	I	•••	1 1/2	•••	***	•••	•••
Mysore	•••	•••	•••		1 3	•••	•••		•••
Madras Presidency	••	34	113	1	16	***	4	•••	4
Total	•••	260 I	,492 .	248	1,522	203	1,391	225	1,511



CRITICAL NOTICES.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

The Indian Church Quarterly Review. April, 1888. Edited by the Rev. A. Saunders Dyer, M. A., Calcutta. The Oxford Mission Press, 1888.

TO 2 of the Indian Church Quarterly Review shows no falling off from No. 1, abounds in readable matter, and matter that cannot fail to be interesting to other than Church folk. Amongst its contents will be found an article by the Reverend J. A. Sharrock on Morality and Discipline in Indian Colleges, which in the nature of things must have been written before the late storm in a teapot at the Madras Christian College, and which has therefore special significance and cogency at the present time. Before he knew anything of India practically, at a Missionary Meeting held at Cambridge some years ago, Mr. Sharrock voted with the majority in supporting a proposition that Indian Missionaries should abstain from educational work, and devote their energies altogether to the promotion of direct Evangelistic efforts. Experience (with accompaniment of a candid mind) is a serviceable school-master in such matters. Since his landing in India, Mr. Sharrock has seen cause to alter his opinion on this subject. He sees now that Missionaries should avoid the vexed subject of secular education if they would secure proselytizing influence in religious affairs; and thinks they ought to secure to themselves, as much as possible, the educational control of youths, if they would fain engage in their conversion. In Government schools Mr. Sharrock would have morals taught by means of Bible lessons: he can see no greater objections to such a course, than is to be found in the dispensation of European medicines from the hospitals. With such a man, with an intellect thus minded, argument is of no avail; he has his convictions, and abides by them. Having regard to the ensuing quandary, Lord Dufferin not long ago suggested that Government should withdraw from all connection with educational agencies of any denomination whatsoever, and should unreservedly admit the dogmas of free trade into

matters educational. With reference to that proposal, the Indian Church Quarterly Review wants to know whether the Church is ready to undertake this large responsibility, and whether it has at command funds for the purpose. "Shall we leave it," it is written, "and with it India, to Catholics and Non-conformists?" Now is the time for earnest Churchmen, But there is another side of the problem from the Viceroy's point of view:—

It is well known that the Roman Catholics give no direct religious teaching, and some of our own body, either from the love of imitation, or from stretching the theory of Reserve to its utmost limits, now do the same. To expect a Hindu, steeped to the eyes in superstition, and bound with the adamantine fetters of caste, to purge his vision and submit to the yoke of Christ, because the manager of his school is a Christian missionary and leads a Christian life, seems to be little better than an idle dream. Here then is the difficulty. How can we keep up our attendance, and so save ourselves from bankruptcy, if we remain faithful to the principle that a College should exercise a direct religious influence culminating in Holy Baptism?

A portrait of the Bishop of Madras graces the pages of the April Number of the *Indian Church Quarterly Review*; and it contains notices of current literature calculated to interest Churchmen.

The Indian Magazine, May 1888. Issued by the National Indian Association, in aid of Social Progress and Education in India. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1888.

THE INDIAN MAGAZINE for May is a more than ordinarily intresting one, full of readable and suggestive articles, beginning with one entitled "A City of Refuge," meaning, of all places, The Thames Police Court, London. To it, the author writes, drift the—

Socialists who will propagate their doctrines in too public places; Jews, who gravely make oath with their hats on; Chinese, with almond eyes, and consciences nothing will bind unless a saucer is solemnly broken to typify the perjurer's fate; and last, but not least, tawny-skinned sailors at loggerheads with their captains or employers.

Mr. C. S. Naidu contributes a thoughtful paper on Social Reform in India: Mr. J. B. Knight another on the liquor traffic, Perhaps the one which will command most general attention. is that entitled *How to Preserve Health in India*, by Dr. C. R. Francis, formerly Principal of the Medical College, Calcutta. It treats of water from many points of view.

Here is what Dr. Francis has to say about that all important matter, filtering:—

Filtration through sand—fine white sand is the best, but the grains should be sharp and angular so as to catch the impurities—is found to be sufficiently effective for purifying water on a large scale; and Thames water,

though not so pure of course as that found in the chalk in Surrey and in the Welsh Mountains, is, according to the analysis made by accomplished chemists every month, sufficiently free from impurities. Since the water supply of Calcutta has been brought from the river at Fulta near Barrackpore, about sixteen miles above the city, the health of the community generally has greatly improved. It is gratifying to the sanitary reformer to see the more enlightened natives taking their drinking-vessels to the taps and there receiving the purer supply, instead of resorting to the muddy river, or to the suspicious tanks. For individual use a variety of filters have been designed,—the principle being the same in all, though the medium varies. Sponge makes a good filter, and may be used in the absence of anything more effective. Wool, boiled in a solution of alum and cream of tartar, dyed in an infusion of gall-nuts, and finally washed in a solution of carbonate of soda, has been much used as a filter in Paris;—as also a filter made of sponge, pounded sandstone, and gravel The best filters used in the United Kiugdom are those made of spongioiron animal charcoal, and the so-called magnetic carbide. Vegetable, and peat charcoal are decidedly inferior; but gas coke is excellent, and might be more generally used. In my article, dated January 1886, I spoke preferentially of the spongio-iron filter, which is well adapted for India; and, as being unmixed with animal charcoal, especially well suited for natives, who are particular about their caste. As the Spongio-iron Filter Company, 22 New Oxford Street. only make these filters, there need not be any suspicion even of their being ever fitted with blocks of animal charcoal. The use of iron is, moreover, in keeping with the practice of the country. A rod of iron, heated red-hot, is sometimes plunged into a vessel of drinking water,—partly to purify it, and partly to make the water tonic. The spongio-iron filter not only acts as a mechanical strainer, but it is also chemically (?) destructive of organic matter. It has been officially recommended for use in the English and Prussian army, as also for general use by Royal Commissions and by army medical officers: and it is now exclusively supplied to all the Royal Residences of the Queen; to the War, and India Offices; to the Admiralty; to the Science and Art Department, South Kensington; and to several railways, clubs, hotels, hospitals, asylums, and schools. This filter (Bischof's Patent), together with those of the Magnetic Filter Company (Spencer's Patent), and of the London and General Water-Purifying Company (Danchell's Patent), and with Maignen's "Filtre Rapide," was put to "extremely severe tests" by the Lancet Analytical Sanitary Commission—see their Report in the Lancet for January 1888—and it showed the best results. The fact of this filter being made entirely of mineral * matter is greatly in its fayour, there being no fear of decomposition as in those made with animal charcoal which, unless frequently cleaned, are apt to contaminate the water instead of purifying it. Of course, no filter is inexhaustible; and all require cleaning, or changing after a time. Once in a year will suffice for recharging the Spongio iron filter. This filter is not, however, so serviceable in travelling, as it (the portable filter) filters too slowly. For this purpose I

^{*} Spongio-iron, binoxide of manganese (pyrolusite),—with a strainer between them,—and asbestos, or sand. Instructions are given with this, as with other filters, how to clean and re-charge it. The filter itself—the Colonial filter in stone ware, filtering 2½ quarts in an hour, is best suited for exportation—may be obtained for about £2 5s. including packing in hamper, and materials for recharging. An extra supply of these last—the cost is trifling—should always be added. Where the consumption is large, the 4 quarts, or gallon size would be the best. The stone-ware cases of the London and General Water-Purifying Company, 175 Strand, may be fitted, if necessary, with Spongio-iron filters,—leaving nothing, under this head, to be desired.

would give the preference to Maignen's * "Filtre Rapide," which, in its way, is an admirable filter; and gives great satisfaction to travellers. The water, after passing through Maignen's filters, is usually well aerated—a great point in their favour. But care must be taken to have them (as well as all filters made with animal charcoal) frequently cleaned, or changed,—say, every two months:—and the operation should not be left to servants.†

There is in this issue of the Magazine a timely proposal for a Normal School in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. Also a notice of the working of the Hobart School for Mahomedan girls at Madras, by a Hindu lady. There are also various other contributions pertinent to the objects aimed at by the National Indian Association.

We repeat that the number for May is replete with interesting matter. It will well repay perusal.

Cyclone Memoirs. Part I. Bay of Bengal Cyclone of May 20th-28th, 1887. Calcutta: Printed by the Superintendent of Government Printing, India. 1888.

It is made matter of reproach to some Indian Departments that they are ornamental rather than useful. Such Departments are probably relicts of the days of Dowb, and not intended by the people responsible for their up-keep, for any thing beyond a decent provision in life for that stranded dodo. But there are bright exceptions to this adipose rule now-a-days. Notably the Meteorological Department our forefathers knew not of—a Department the practical utilities of which are constantly being made manifest. We have now before us No. I of a series of Cyclone Memoirs which it is publishing. It deals with the Bay of Bengal Cyclone of May 20th 28th, 1887, and its experiences, and is, it goes without saying, exhaustive as well as edifying from a seafaring and scientific point out of view. Here is a sample:—

The most violent and dangerous cyclones are those which occur at the change of seasons before and after the south west monsoon, and which are now usually known as the May and October transition periods. The former lasts, as already stated, from the beginning of May to about the middle of June, and the latter from the middle of September to the end of November or beginning of December. These storms are, fortunately, not of frequent occurrence. They may be described as consisting of three parts: an outer storm area, an inner storm area, and a central calm area. In the outer storm area the weather is very similar to that in the smaller storms of the rains. The winds circulate in the usual spiral manner, and their direction and shift enable the sailor to determine the bearing of the centre with approximate accuracy, especially

³² St. Mary's Hill, Eastcheap, London.

[†] To ascertain if the filtered water is pure, take a perfectly clean bottle with a glass stopper, fill it with the water to be tested, add a few drops of Condy's fluid, and let it stand all night. If the water be pure, it will retain the pink tint caused by the Condy's fluid.

when he is near the inner edge, or is approaching the inner storm area. In the outer storm area winds are more or less violent, frequent squalls occur, the sea is high, and there are strong currents, such as always obtain in any cyclonic storm at sea. The barometer falls very slowly, and stands very little lower than its ordinary height at the season. Within this outer storm area is the inner storm area, usually of much smaller extent, surrounding the central calm area. In it the barometer falls with great rapidity from the inner edge of the outer storm area to the calm central area (in the case of the False Point Cyclone of September 1885 nearly 1.6 inches in about 15 miles). The transition from the inner storm area to the calm centre is always very sudden and sharply marked. The transition from the outer to the inner storm area appears also to be more or less sharply marked, but to a much less degree than the change from the inner to the calm area. Within the inner storm area the winds are of hurricane force, the squalls and rainfall of excessive violence, and the sea tremendous. The weather in the calm centre is too well known to require description. In many of the largest cyclonic storms in the Bay, the sky is frequently almost clear over a portion of the calm centre, the atmosphere hazy, and the sun visible.

The latter class of storms are held to be by far the most dangerous, and mariners unluckily caught in one, are advised to use their judgment to, if possible, avoid passing into the inner storm area.

The National Review. May 1888. London: W. H. Allen & Co. 13 Waterloo Place, S. W.

O the National Review for May, Mr. Alfred Austín has sent from Italy a short, sorrowful, discriminating Note on the life work of the late Matthew Arnold. It is the privilege of poets to remain perenially young, so the younger poet declares. "Notwithstanding his sixty-six years, Matthew Arnold died young." It is too early as yet to assign to him his precise place in the Hierarchy of Letters, whether as poet, critic, or essayist. He will have to be further away from us before he can be "focussed rightly." His claims to distinction were so various, so catholic,—in the best sense of the word-that time will be needful to gather up the tale of them, and estimate their effects on the life and thought of the nineteenth century. He was held to be somewhat chary in praise of his contemporaries. Assuredly, says, Mr. Austin, "this was not owing to want of magnanimity on his part, but rather to a keen sense of literary proportion, and in some degree, perhaps, to a consciousness which it would have required a very ill-natured person to have found fault with the importance and value of his praise." He had persuaded himself that the present age is hostile to the production of poetry; he was, in truth, the child of an earlier, a quieter, a more reflective time, yet very far indeed from being mere laudator tempori acti. Here is a trenchant bit of criticism:

I have often thought the natural impetus that drove Matthew Arnold to write poetry was not a very strong one, and hence was soon ex-

hausted. His temperament was ethical rather than æsthetic; and though I am aware he would have protested against what I am going to say, his intellect was polemical and dogmatic, despite all his determination not to dogmatize, and his extreme repugnance to the ruder forms of controversy. But he was not content to take men and women, and the world generally, as he found them; and, for the best and lasting purposes of poetry, it is, I submit, necessary to do so. He was an evangelist, if a mild one; and thus, by degrees, the poet was merged in the prose Sophist. Though I cannot honestly go so far, in the way of admiration of his poetry, as my friend Mr. Hutton, I confess I too would willingly exchange all his prose works for certain pages of his poetry. Yet how seductive his prose was! I read his recent paper on "Civilization in the United States," over a wood fire in a shabby little room at Gubbio. It might have been written there. For though Gubbio is now poor and forsaken enough, it still is "interesting." It still has that "beauty," that "distinction" he in vain looked for in the United States; and I had looked forward to the pleasure of telling him amid what appropriate and suggestive surroundings I had read his paper.

I have used the word Sophist in connection with Matthew Arnold not to depreciate, but to describe. To me, at least, it seems the designation is not inappropriate, as regards much of what he wrote on what are called theological questions. He meant well, he wrote sincerely, earnestly, and with infinite grace concerning them; but what did it all amount to? When I told an eminent Conservative statesman that Arnold was writing the paper on "Disestablishment in Wales," which appeared in the March number of this Review, the remark, accompained by a smile which the information evoked, was this, "No doubt he will first deprecate Disestablishment, and will then proceed to disestablish in detail"; which, in effect, was precisely what he did. When one is resolved not to be such a Philistine as one's neighbours, these charming contraditions

are perhaps the inevitable sequel.

As the "standard-bearer of sweet reasonableness," a man always to be remembered, always thought of non sine floribus, the younger poet regards the dead friend to whose memory he pays loving tribute in the pages of the May number of the National Review.

Aid to Russian Composition; containing Exercises, Vocabularies. Syntactical Rules, extracts from Government Despatches, and Specimens of Russian Manuscript. By Ivan Nestro-Schnurmann. London. W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place S. W. 1888.

A. Manual of the Andamanese Languages. By M. V. Portman, M.R.A.S., F.R G.S., F.S. Sc., &c. &c., London. W. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, S. W. 1887.

Railways and their incentives to business and travel, the proverbial schoolmaster abroad, Max Müller and the invention of philology, are all of them latter-day agencies that have had their share in imbuing the modern Englishman with consideration for foreign languages, and a not inconsiderable faculty for their assimilation. We, of this generation, are

by no means like-minded with our forefathers in contempt for all languages save Anglo-Saxon, and disregard of philological research. Hence we have now before us an Andamanese Manual, and a handy guide to Russian composition. Both have their interest for the Indian Services. For the former, we have to thank Mr. M. N. Portman, M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S., F. S. Sc., an Extra Assistant Superintendent at the Andamans; the latter is vouched for by Ivan Nestro-Schnumann, a teacher of the Russian language resident in London.

There is peculiar significance in the fact that there should be a demand for such a work as the latter in England. It appears

to be carefully compiled.

To the many British Officers who have, of late years, betaken themselves to Russia to study the language on the spot, it will be likely to prove of service, as well as to those who are studying it with or without tutors, in England and in Hindoostan.

Mr. Nestor-Schnurmann says in his preface :-

It is a great mistake to suppose that Russian is a difficult language to master. By following my plan, and plunging at once into the connected sentences, which are arranged according to their proper sequence in this volume, the student will rapidly acquire a knowledge of the general principles of the construction of the language, and will insensibly, and without loss of time, thoroughly learn its grammar.

Two things are essential for Army and Diplomatic students. They are (1) an acquaintance with the best forms of official correspondence, and (2)

skill in reading various styles of handwriting

To meet the first want, I have given copious parallel extracts in English and Russian from the official correspondence on the subject of the delimit-

ation of the Afghan boundary.

To meet the second want, I have given photographs of Russian letters in various styles of handwriting, the key to all the difficulties of which is the photographed alphabet (arranged in the shape of a square) which is placed at the beginning of the volume, and contains representations of all the numerous forms of writing the thirty-six letters.

The Origin of Persian Poetry, Translated from the French of Professor J. Darmesteter. By Nasarwánji Frámji Tamboli, Bombay: 1888.

NASARWANJI Frámji Tamboli has translated from the French Professor Darmsteter's essay on the origin of

Persian Poetry.

He thinks Shelley's Epipsychidion the best commentary on the quatrains of Abu Sayad; he agrees with Alfred de Vigny in the declaration—Silence alone is great; all the rest weakness. He quotes Lucretius, after the manner of weak-kneed doubters. Of Avicenne, the famous schoolman, physician, statesman, we are asked to believe, that because he could not find time for

sleep, and did not desire to find it, he deliberately induced somnolence by indulging in wine. Then, we are reminded of the Bacchanalian proclivities of most Persian gentlemen of light and leading in the middle ages, after which follows an apology: thus—

The foreigner is at first astonished and a little scandalized at the place which wine occupies in Persian poetry. Nothing, however, could be more unlike our bacchanalian songs. The songs of Europe are nothing but the carols of drunkards, whereas those of Persia are strains of revolt against the Koran, against bigotry, and against the tyranny exercised by religion over nature and over reason. For the poet, he who drinks, is the representative of the emancipated man; but for the mystic, wine is something still more; it is the symbol of divine intoxication. In the protestations of Avicenne, the physician and the free-thinker speak by tarns. Here is what the physician says:—

"Wine is the enemy of the drunkard and the friend of the sober;
"In small doses, it acts like an antidote, in large ones like poison.
"Though bitter in taste, like the counsels of a friend, it is useful, and is permitted to sensible people, but forbidden to foolish ones."

The orthodox man would certainly frown on reading these verses; but what would he do when he reads what follows?

"Is it the fault of wine if a fool drink it and go out blindly in the night? As for us, it is towards God that it leads us.

"If the decree of religion forbids its use to fools, the decree of reason

permits its use to the wise.

"Drink wisely pure wine like Bu Ali (Avicenne); it will render thy existence divine, and this is as true as God exists."

One cannot be surprised to hear that-

The piety of this Saint was not in conformity with the views of the masses. He was denounced as an unbeliever before the magistrate, and when he passed through the streets, women mounted the roofs in order to throw on him the sweepings of their houses. He retired to Amol in Tabaristan to be near the Sheik Abul Abbas from whom he saw all that he afterwards knew. He died on Friday the 4th day of Shaban 440 (1062) aged a thousand months.

It is naively written:—"The poems which this ascetic has left behind him are almost all poems of love,"

Journal of the East-India Association. Issued March 1888. London: W. H. Allen & Co., 13 Waterloo Place, S. W.

SIR Roper Lethbridge has published, in the March number of the Journal of the East India Association, a lecture delivered by him on The Gold Fields of Southern India. He visited them last cold-weather, it will be remembered, and went back to England, praising their prospects, and delighting them to honour as investments. When he went to Mysore he had not a pennyworth of pecuniary interest in any undertaking there. He went, and saw, and was conquered. For

Sir Roper has the courage of his convictions, and having satisfied himself that the gold-fields of Southern India are likely to pay miners handsome profits, he straightway applied all his spare cash to the purchase of shares.

Sir Roper Lethbridge's enquiries have led him to the conclusion that the auriferous rocks of Mysore are, on an average, far richer than those of Australia or America. He writes:—

In Australia the true "fissure veins" invariably grow richer as the depth from the surface is increased: yet in Mysore the assays at a depth of 200, 300, or 400 ft.—the lowest point yet attained has been reached by the "Mysore" mine, and has hardly gone below 400 ft.—are quite as good as, perhaps better than, the Australian or American assays at depths of 2,000 ft and over. In these deep Australian mines, ore that assays 5 dwts. to the ton will pay expenses, so I am told, and 10 dwts. will pay handsomely. The average richness of all the quartz crushed in the Colony of Victoria during the past year, was given on December 20th 1887, at a little over 11 dwts. per ton, by the official returns. In Mysore the assays already got at the inconsiderable depths attained, very commonly reach 1 oz., 11 oz., 2 oz., and over 3 oz. and upwards; and exceptional samples assay up to more than 200 oz. per ton. Mr. George Attwood, the well-known mining engineer of Clement's Lane, who was for many years one of the engineers in charge of the famous Comstock Lode in Nevada (U.S.A.), tells me they were down considerably over 3.000 ft. there when he left it, with the vein still rich and wide; and he thinks that the promise near the surface was not any better than it appears to be in the Mysore mines.

Certainly, if we of this generation had found the Mysore gold fields in the same virgin state as that in which the Australian and Californian fields were found, the "dreams of avarice" would hardly be equal to the task of imagining the riches that must have been there. And this is confirmed, too, by the teachings of history. The frequent changes of rulers, and the trades-unionism of the gold-washing tribes or castes, have prevented anything like an authentic or continuous history of the gold-mining industry as a craft. But we have ample evidence of its existence at various times, and of the vast treasures obtained therefrominsomuch that attempts have been made at times to identify the Malabar coast with that Ophir whence King Solomon's fleets brought gold as well as "ivory, apes, and peacocks." Governor Duncan, of Bombay, was the first Englishman who instituted any inquiry into the facts of Indian goldmining; and that was in 1793. But when Mr. Sheffield, Collector of Malabar, was called upon in 1831 to report on the subject to the Government of Madras, he not only gave very full and interesting details as to the localities, methods, &c., of the gold-washing in various parts of his district,

but added:

"It has been well known from the earliest period that gold is produced in the province, and the collecting of it has been farmed out in Wynaad and the Nilambur vally (Malabar) for the last forty of fifty years."

Now, in the "Travels of Marco Polo" it is stated that "Kalar Dewal, Rajah of Malabar, had, about 1309 A. D., accumulated in gold 1,200

milions of dinars," equal to about 450 milions sterling.

About the year 1293, Alá uddin, afterwards Emperor of Delhi, took from the city of Deogarh, a vast ransom, in which was 15,000 lbs. weight of gold, and also 25,000 lbs. weight of silver.

From Greek classical sources we learn that a considerable proportion

of the gold revenues of the Persian monarchs came from India.

Our late Chairman, Mr. Eastwick, writing in the *Times* in 1879, declared his belief that far richer gold-fields exist in Southern India than any hitherto discovered; and founded his opinion largely on the researches

of Dr. Burnell, late of the Madras Civil Service.

"The learned Dr. Burnell," Mr. Eastwick writes, in his Note on the Great Temple of Shiva at Tanjore, "tells us that in the eleventh century, A. D., nearly all the great temples to Shiva in Southern India were built, and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the great temples to Vishnu were erected; and it has always been a puzzle whence the great wealth came which enabled the Rajahs of Southern India to construct such enormous works, which collectively must have cost millions. The marvel is increased by the fact that, so far from these Indian princes having been impoverished by this expenditure, they were still possessed of vast treasures, which fell into the hands of the Moslems in the fourteenth century and were carried away to Delhi. But the famous inscription on the Tanjore Temple, the deciphering of which (an astonishing feat) has been effected by the same authority, sheds some light on the matter. Dr. Burnell writes: "The full importance in Indian history of Viva Cola's reign is only to be gathered from this inscription; but it contains other information also of great value. It proves, e.g., that in the eleventh century, gold was the most common precious metal in India, and stupendous quantities of it are mentioned here, Silver, on the other hand, is little mentioned. I submit that the great abundance of gold spoken of in the inscription can have arisen only from mines, and that, in the terrible convulsions caused by the irruption of Moslem invaders from the North, and Europeans from the West, the position of these gold-fields was lost sight of. "

Two better authorities than Dr. Burnell and Mr. Eastwick could hardly be named. The prodigious hoards of gold—both coin and bullion—amassed by Tippoo, are matters of history. Lord Cornwallis wrung from him the promise of upwards of three millions sterling—he sent thirty-eight camel loads of treasure as a bribe to Sindia—more than forty million star pagodas were captured at Seringapatam in 1799, and the gold about his throne produced nearly thirty thousand pounds. Further, it is recorded of the Rajahs in the Malabar district, in the report of the Commission of 1792, that they were entitled to a royalty on "all gold ore." Some of the temples in Mysore have been endowed from time immemorial with royalties on the gold produced in their neighbourhood; and of some of the poligars of Mysore, it is recorded that they exercised the right of minting gold.

The latter-day mining industry in the Wynaad began with some desultory experiments, undertaken by local planters, in 1869. Four years later the pioneers of the Colar concessionaires, opened negociations with the Government of Mysore, at that time administered by Sir Richard Meade, as Chief Commissioner. Practically, however, the modern history of gold mining in Southern India dates from the period of the visit of inspection paid by Lord Lytton to the famine-stricken districts in 1877. He was accompanied by Sir Andrew Clarke, the Public Works Minister at that time. Now, Sir Andrew had been Chief Commissioner of Crown (Mining) Lands in Victoria. He at once noticed the autiferous character of the country, and on his recommendation, the Government of India

determined to send to Australia for an expert in mining engineering to report on the auriferous tracts of the Wynaad. Mr. Brough Smyth was the gentleman selected. He was sanguine and enthusiastic, and he is sometimes blamed for the speculative mania which gambled with mining shares in 1880 and subsequent years, during which large sums of money were wantonly thrown away, and the mining interest discredited. Mr. Brough Smith is, however, absolved by our lecturer from more blame than attaches to an exaggerated optimism, and he gets credited with having repeatedly warned the public of the dangers in its way. Apropos, here are what Sir Roper calls "shrewd observations," by Captain Robert Sheridan, writing in April 1887 of Mr. Lonsdale's gold-field at Harnhalli:

"You must not expect that you are going to meet with rich shoots of stone on the surface, for you must remember that the old miners were here before you, and tried all the outcrops near the surface, and wherever they found gold, they have taken it all away, and followed the stone down as far as possible. If we take the Colar Fields, for example: in no part of that field will you find an outcrop that will show more than a trace of gold, but when the bottom of the old workings were reached, the stone was proved to be worth from two to three ounces to the ton. You can spend as much money as you like in pottering about the surface, but it will do no good; you must follow the lead of the old miners. During the years from 1881 to 1883, tens of thousands of pounds were spent on the Colar Fields in sinking shafts from 80 ft. to 100 ft. deep, and then giving them up, so they went on till all their capital was spent and they had to stop work, and now others will reap the benefit of their folly. The only Company that persevered and kept on was the Mysore, who unbottomed the old workings, and no one can deny that is a success. Then, there is the Indian Consolidated Company, late the Colar Company. They have got stone at the bottom of the old working worth 3 oz. to the ton. At the Nundidroog they have got good stone. Both these Companies, if they had remembered that they were working old mines, and not new ground, and if they had followed the old workings, would have been successful under the former Companies.

"After the experience gained by the failure of most of the Colar Companies in 1884, you must try and avoid making the same mistake, and instead of frittering time and money away on the surface, get to work mining in earnest, and sink below the point reached by the old miners; if you do that I have no doubt you will meet with success."

And Mr. Bruce Foote, the Superintendent of the Geological Survey of India, writing of the unsuccessful Kudrikonda mine on the 11th June 1887, says:

"I believe my geological inferences to have been correct, and that the temporary non-success of the mine has been due mainly to want of capital wherewith to push on the works in depth. So long as sufficient quartz was raised to keep the stamps at full work, the mine paid its expenses. Should more capital be raised, and working be resumed, I fully expect the yield of gold will improve in depth, as has been the case in so many deep mines in Australia."

There was a good deal of waste and extravagance in connection with South Indian mining twenty years ago. Sir Roper

Lethbridge, in that connection, gives the following extract from a letter written by an old resident of Mysore:

"The last time I was in Madras, I saw a body of ordinary artisans conveyed up to Colar in a reserved first-class saloon carriage, which may seem a small matter, but every one of those artisans would expect to be waited upon and have servants to do things for him which, under other circumstances, he would have to do for himself. In the same way extravagant waste has been going on all through. Men have been pitchforked out here to manage mines, in many cases ignorant of mining, ignorant of the value of labour, of materials, and of the details of Indian life. Ridiculous contracts have been entered into, and jobbery of all sorts indulged in. Some of the people in this country who are managing the mines have, in my opinion, a very heavy load of responsibility to carry. I write strongly, but ever since 1880, I have been witness to what I now say. It might be a difficult matter to allude to this in a public meeting but if some one had the courage to do it, it would do good."

Sir Roper Lethbridge's speech was followed by a discussion, in which besides the Chairman and the Lecturer, Mr. Holmes, Mr. John Ogle, Mr. Martin Wood, Mr. Goodliffe and others took part.

Here is a noticeable bit from Mr. Brownjohn's speech:

The shares in the Mysore mine some time ago were at a very low figure indeed, showing that to go altogether by the Stock Exchange quotations does not always reflect the true position of affairs. Some people take advantage of these things. A gentleman I know of, bought a number of the Mysore Company's shares at 10d a share; he put £200 into this venture at 10d a share, and sold them out at £8. 10s about a couple of years after; that was rather good business I think; he made about £30,000 over the transaction. I believe there is often a great future for, people investing in mines, when one thinks of a celebrated mine in this country, the Devon Great Consols; the shares of that mine were brought out at £1 a piece: they fell to 2s 6d; and a number were bought at that price, and sold at £800 a piece shortly after. I should like also to ask about these plans hanging on the wall before us. They have been out some time, and do not show the workings at the present time to within several months. I think many of the mines are much deeper than represented to be by them. The Nundydroog Mine is now down to 300 ft.; the Mysore is down to 400 ft., and it will shortly now be much deeper, because they are already commencing to sink again. Then, I think, the Indian Consolidated have got down to 200 ft. or more. Then, with regard to the produce of gold: the Balaghat has been producing 4 and 6 ozs. to the ton; the Nundydroog, according to the last report, 5 ozs. per ton; the Nine Reefs 2 ozs. per ton, and the Oregum 9 to 10 ozs. to the ton, &c. There are many mines in the Colar district now producing gold in paying quantities. I believe about half an ounce to the ton pays very well indeed. I am sure for nearly everybody investing in these mines there will be a very great return shortly; and I fancy there will be another return for the Mysore shareholders in the shape of yet a further dividend of 20 per cent. very shortly. I cannot but think there is a magnificent future for this great industry.

Palestine Illustrated. By Sir Richard Temple, London: W. H. Allen & Co., 13, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall, S.W. 1888.

TE should be puzzled to say, if called upon for an opinion on the subject, whether versatility of genius, or eagerness to be always doing something, is the more prominent feature in Sir Richard Temple's character. One may be sure from his antecedents, that he looks carefully after the affairs of his Worcestershire estate, and that he assiduously attends, and assists at, deliberations of Parliament in Committee as well as in the House; and during the recess, he either travels, and makes sketches of objects of interest in the lands of his visitation, or he turns some of the sketches in his portfolio into chromo-lithographs, and writes letter-press to match their gorgeous colouring. Last year we were favoured, with water-coloured views of scenery in Cashmere and Sikkim This year an account of his journeyings to and fro in Palestine serves as background for display of his artistic abilities. The chromos in which the volume before us is replete, remind one of theatrical drop-scenes at some Suburban Music Hall rather than anything else in Nature or out of it. It is characteristic of Sir Richard Temple that, when making special reference to artistic colouring in the preface to his book, he should complacently quote the following passage from Ruskin, and discover in it no reproof:—

" Of all God's gifts to the sight of man, colour is the holiest the most divine, the most solemn. We speak rashly of gay colour and sad colour, for colour cannot at once be good and gay. All good colour is, in some degree, pensive, the loveliest is melancholy. . . . God has employed colour in His creation as the unvarying accompaniment of all that is purest, most innocent, most precious; while, for things precious only in material uses, or dangerous, common colours are reserved. I know no law more severely without exception than this of the connection of pure colour with profound and noble thought. . . The ascertainment of the sanctity of colour is not left to human sagacity. . . . The sacred chord of colour is not left to human sagacity. . . . The sacred chord of colour,-blue, purple, and scarlet, with white and gold. as appointed in the Tabernacle,—this chord is the fixed base of all colouring with the workmen of every great age. A faithful study of colour will always give power over form; though the most intense study of form will give no power over colour."

The "geographical order" of the places visited by Sir Richard is Joppa—Ajalon—Jerusalem—Bethlehem—Jordan—Jericho—Bethel—Shiloh—Shechem—Samaria—Dothan—Esdraelon—Jezreel—Tabor—Nazareth—Cana—Gennesareth—Tiberias. The

tour it will be seen, was limited in extent, and does not get beyond the region west of the Jordan. Hebron and Gaza, the northern division of Cæsarea Philippi, or Merom, and the coast of Tyre and Sidon remained unexploited. The purpose of the work is strictly confined, we are told, to a representation of many important scenes from Old World History relating to them. No pains have been spared, it is written, to verify authorities, and to embody the results of the latest researches on spiritual and cognate history, so far as they "concern the particular points which I adduce." Here is a bit of information

for the tourist which may be useful :-

"The best and usual time for travelling in Palestine is from the latter half of March to the beginning of May. The traveller will then expect sunshine and pleasant weather, dry ground and unimpeded transit, spring verdure and blooming wild-flowers. Most of these good things he will, indeed, find at that auspicious time, though in the weather he may be disappointed even then. But such advantages do not accrue in February and the first half of March. They may, for a brief while, present themselves; but in that case they will be abnormal and unseasonable. And, although they might be enjoyable to the traveller for the moment, he would, if a thoughtful man, regard them with foreboding, for they would portend drought, failure of crops, and ultimate scarcity. In other words, during the latter winter and the early spring, there ought to be heavy weather, rain-storms, vapour-masses obscuring the sky, falls of snow in the mountains and the loftier plateaux, bridle-paths turned into temporary torrents, lowlands becoming bogs, ploughed fields difficult to be crossed. Otherwise there will be no subsoil-moisture for the spring crops, no supplies for the fountains and streams, no pasturage for the animals. The traveller, then, who chooses, or is obliged to travel at that particular time, must face the weather. He will have to endure some hardship, he will miss seeing many beauties that are seen by those who travel at more favourable times; but he will be rewarded by the sight of much grandeur that would not be visible under other circumstances."

Sir Richard, found the weather during his tour, stormy and wild,—"cloudy, with outbreaks of splendour." But there were genial and delightful intervals between the storms, and occasions when the glory beheld, more than compensated for the toil and trouble. One's riding dress, when on tour in the Holy Land during the months of February and March, should not be thin and light as in hot climates people are used to wear. Water-proofs are recommended. Travelling is by no means an easy undertaking; snow is common. Baggagemules and donkeys have, at times, to be "extracted from the

loam or clay of the ploughed field in which they are almost imbedded, or have to be actually dragged across a turbid and impetuous brook. Our traveller narrowly escaped detention at Jerusalem from a fall of snow two feet deep; and the hills round about it are whitened in most winters, though not in every winter. Is it worth while to travel for pleasure under such climatic conditions? Sir Richard puts the question himself in other words, and in reply suggests that it is an imprudent undertaking for invalids or the weakly; but he holds that people who are physically strong, buoyant in temperament, and desirous of seeing wonders, will do well to "try their fortune."

In the central parts of Palestine proper, they will find Latin and Greek monasteries, where a hospitable welcome is always accorded to travellers. Winter travelling is as practicable for ladies with equestrian aptitudes as it is for gentlemen. Sir Richard commends the work done by the Survey of Western Palestine, and considers the publication it has put forth, Twentyone Years in Palestine, a good vade mecum for travellers in that country. He made a start upon his tour from Joppa, a town which "though picturesque, had the draggled look, which all

oriental cities have after heavy rain."

Thence, our traveller drove to Jerusalem, 35 miles along the new road in 10 hours. Sharon, passed on the way, had a musical sound in his ears from its connection with the opening verse of the 2nd chapter of Solomon's Song: "I am the Rose of Sharon." But he remembered, at the same time, that Conder, the latest authoritative Biblical Commentator deems this rose to have been the white narcissus. Ramleh is near the foot of the hills of Judah, not mentioned in Holy Writ, though Ludd, where Peter was, before he went to Joppa, became a famous bishopric after the Christian era. Here is a bit of Bible criticism:—

Something has been already, and much more well yet be, said regarding Scriptural sites. But this occasion may be taken to mention, in a general way, what is meant by their identification. It must be admitted that, of the sites usually indicated to the traveller, some are fanciful, some unproved, and some plainly wrong, being contrary to the language of Scripture. At certain times of early Christendom, and especially of Latin Christianity, places seem to have been chosen as the scenes of prominent events in the Sacred Record, without due regard to the words of the Bible itself, and without study of the ground in the actual locality. The errors hence arising are but too well known to travellers in Palestine. Nevertheless, the inquirer is not to be discouraged in his search for the sites of sacred occurrences, and for the scenes of momentous events in the history of our religion. It may be that the list of Scriptural places which cannot be at all identified is unhappily long. The number of places, too, which have been wrongly selected, is considerable. Still, there is the satisfaction of remembering that the sites and scenes of many among the most memorable events are known with reasonable certainty. Learned research, scientific inquiry, antiquarian exploration, have thrown, and are constantly throwing, much light upon these themes; but we may read, mark, and learn the words of Scripture, and, thus furnished, we may visit the sacred spots. There, with the ground and its surroundings under our eyes, we may read over again the passages of Scripture. We shall then have a clear vision on many points of biblical geography where our ideas before were quite shadowy. And we shall be thankful to find that, humanly speaking, we have a positive assurance regarding the places where many among the most essential circumstances in the Bible History came about. The exact coincidence, in numerous instances, of the actual topography with the sacred narrative, adds another bulwark to the stability of our faith.

Two chapters are devoted to a description of Jerusalem and its neighbourhood, and are certainly the most interesting ones in the book. A well-executed map of the city precedes them. It is an awesome thought, that though the modern city stands on the same site as the ancient one, its salient features have been changed past any certainty of recognition; and that a city built on a cluster of hills has, in course of time, because of its ruins and their debris filling up all hollows, come to wear an almost level appearance to the eye. Equally suggestive is the latter-day distribution of the erewhile exclusive city's inhabitants. Of its four quarters, Moriah and Bezetha are how occupied by Mahomedans, Akra gives shelter to Christians; in Zion alone are Jews gathered together, and even there, they have no monopoly of residence, but are associated with Armenians. The hotel is near the Jaffa gate. Akra is the mercantile quarter; but "trade scarcely exists." The bazars are highly picturesque, and stored with curious things, but lack "that bustling variety, that kaleidescopic brilliancy for which oriental bazars are generally noted." The ornamentation of Solomon's temple is referred to as "some what gaudy and tawdry." Underneath the building are several subjects for the painter-cisterns, chambers, passages, flights of steps, rows of massive pillars-most of them hewn out of the solid rock. Here is the wailing-place of the Jews; to it all the Jews in the city go on Fridays to read penitential psalms, to mourn for the scattering abroad of the Nation, and to pray for its gathering together and return to Palestine. Sir Richard seems to have been much impressed with this observance, at which he one day assisted, having been smuggled into the assembly incognito. "Man after man," he writes, "would come, quite by himself, in black robes, with a griefstricken countenance, would recite verses from his psalmbook in low tones, and would press his brows against the mighty masonry. It is literally true, as Porter has said of these Jews, that they moisten the stones of Solomon with their tears." Near the Temple are some Church Missionary schools, and Sir Richard waxes enthusiastic about their liberal management-in that Mahomedan and Jewish children are permitted to receive instruction with Christian children, in Christian Schools!

He walked up the "Via Dolorosa"; and the length and toilsomeness of the ascent raised doubts in his mind as

to whether the sad procession could really have followed this route. "Sombreness, solemnity, variety, and richness," are set down as the characteristics of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

While at Jerusalem, our traveller changed his dragoman, and with the new man convoying him, rode to Bethlehem—a modern town presenting a clean and pleasant appearance, enlivened by an ever-abiding cheerfulness. We are assured that those whose duties or pleasures may take them to the place will find the scenery exhilarating, as the position is favourable for excursions, full of interest and instruction. The wilderness of Judæa is near at hand, and often commands lovely views of the Dead Sea: it is but a day's march to Hebron. The view from the square-topped hill, known as the Frank mountain, the palace and tomb of Herod the Great, will fully reward those who undertake the ascent. Here is our author's word-interpretation of the illustration which is given in his book:—

In the foreground are the olive-groves already mentioned, which in this neighbourhood are extensive and productive, though they do not appear to contain trees of any considerable age. From the groves, the bridle-path is seen ascending to the town on the height above. Near the brow on the ridge, are the ecclesiastical buildings, and the sacred structures over the site of the Nativity. These are tipped by the rays of the declining sun, The sky behind is gilded by the rich light which is shed towards evening in these regions, when the air has been cleared by recent rain.

Tourists in Palestine are advised to visit the Dead Sea, the Jordan, and Jericho, before proceeding northwards. They should take the straight road running from Jerusalem past Bethany to Jericho. Our author's approach to the Dead Sea was from Bethlehem to the monastery of Mar Saba, placed on the brow of the very steepest part of the Kedron ravine, in a situation the most weirdly picturesque in all Palestine. There are hermit caves all round, and the very air teems with saintly legends. In the monastery are several court-yards and many guest-chambers for sheltering travellers, which is recognized as a conventual function. The monks of Mar Saba, however, expect the traveller to bring his own food-supplies with him. Though sad and gloomy of aspect, they are, nevertheless, courteous, in spite of having suffered oppression and persecution in the early days of Christianity. So long ago, in fact, that they do not remember it.

From Mar Saba the traveller takes with him two Bedouins on foot as an escort, according to Turkish regulations; for though in the inhabited parts of Palestine, travellers are safe from overt robbery and violence, in the wilderness it is not so. The nomad tribes there are often unscrupulons; and ergo,—on the same principle that induces Anglo-Indians living in the Mofussil to employ members of qnasi-criminal tribes as bungalow chowkeydars—members of the unscrupulous Nomad tribes are chosen for escort-duty, and their tribe

is held responsible for their good behaviour. Sir Richard characterizes one of their encampments as "a characteristic subject for the artist." Another such subject, a page or two further on, is the bathing in the Jordan at Easter-tide, The plain of Jericho is commended for its fertility; and this is due to canal-irrigation, which in Palestine does not appear to induce reh, or zulum on the part of officials, or falsification of accounts, or, in short, any of the mischiefs imputed to canals in India. Quite the contrary. They are fed. it seems, from a mountain-stream, the very one the Prophet Eljah blessed thousands of years ago, and which has ever since enriched the plain of Jericho and made it one of the wealthiest gardens of the East, and the envy of surrounding peoples. The source of this stream is a spring "bubbling up from the bowels of the mountain." It is called by the natives the Sultan's Fountain. Behind Jericho, Mount Quarantania rises to a respectable height above the plain; a mass of tawny and whitish rocks, forming a background to the mounds that mark the site of the Ancient City. Many dark spots may be perceived, extending in long rows, one row rising above another in parallel lines. These are the cave-cells of hermits; for that idle occupation continues to attract votaries still, very much after the manner of a couple of thousand years ago,—only not as ascetically now, as then. Sir Richard Temple found the occupants of the caves busy improving their cells by means of masonry and additional excavation. Tradition declares Mount Quarantania to be the scene of the forty days Temptation of Christ; whence the name, and the number of hermits too. It is pointed out that acceptance of the tradition on the part of exact enquirers, must depend on determination of the place at which Christ was baptized; for if that place be at some point of the Jordan opposite Jericho, then it is clear from the language of Scripture, that he went for his Temptation in the wilderness to a mountain close by; and Quarantania is the only mountain that would have been perfectly suited to his purpose. The scene of the Temptation must be sought elsewhere, if (as some recent authorities incline to suppose) the baptism was effected at some point higher up the Jordan. It goes without saying that Sir Richard Temple made the ascent of Quarantania; not by any means a difficult enterprize. Here is the letter-press accompainment to a chromo said to represent the view from the top:—

It is morning time, and the sun has mounted not very far above the eastern horizon. The prevailing tints of the sky are blue, blended with amber. The mountain-range of Moab is in shadow and stands up in violet-grey against the sky. At its feet is the northern end of the Dead Sea, catching the sunlight and glistening as a silver sheet. On this side of the salt-water, is a long strip of desert land with reddish hues. Then comes the broad belt of sylvan verdure, which girdles Jericho

as with a zone. In front of this, and near to the foreground, though still much below the eye, are the fountain-reservoirs, the chief of which is a small sheet of water in which the sky is mirrored. From these the principal water-channels are seen wandering in bright streaks among the over-shadowing woods. The lofty pedestal on which we stand, is formed by the red rocks of Ouarantania.

From this standpoint. Robinson thus wrote in 1841 (Biblical Researches, vol. II.): "We here have our last and most splendid view of the plain of Jericho.

It is one of the richest in the world."

Here is an interesting note on the trees of Palestine:-

The oaks that sheltered the patriarchs and their tents are of three kinds. The famous terebinth (pistachio) can still show individual trees of remarkable beauty. The acacia, or shittim, which supplied wood for the Tabernacle, is common to this day. The juniper, under which the prophet rested, is the Retem broom (genista), and is reported as lighting up the desert with white blossoms. The locust tree, the pods of which are believed to have been the "husks" eaten by the prodigal, is often found. The balm of Gilead and Engedi is identified with the Zakkum, from the berries of which a healing oil is extracted; and the camphire of the Canticles with the henna, whence pink dye is obtained for personal adornment (Conder). Other trees, as the sycamore, the ash, the plane, the elder, the hawthorn, the abutus, the tamarisk, may be mentioned. But now-a-days these trees are not found in their pristine abundance. They are only seen singly here and there, or in scattered and scanty groups. Though the people are sparing of wood in building their houses, they have used it for fuel without stint during thousands of years. There never has been, and is not yet, any attempt at forest conservancy; consequently, the consumption has long out-stripped the supply. Thus, the mountains, valleys, and plains have in time become denuded of the sylvan vegetation with which Nature had originally clothed them. Adverting to the woods, Conder (Handbook to the Bible) truly says: "The annual destruction of trees for fire-wood threatens in time to reduce these to the same condition with the ancient forests near Jassa, which now

consists only of low bushes springing from the roots of former timber-trees."

Even this is within the truth, for I heard that even the roots of trees are being often dug out for fuel, so that in many places the last remnants will be extirpated.

It is quite useless to suggest forest conservancy to the Turks. It is alleged that, owing to the denudation of hill sides, the climate of the central ridge, once delightfully salubrious, has sensibly deteriorated. Sir Richard Temple went to Palestine too early in the year to be delighted with its wealth of beautiful wild flowers. The nightingale is heard in the thickets of Jordan; but song birds are rare. Not so birds of prey. Eagles, vultures and hawks are numerous; so are many game birds-quail, partridge, woodcock, plover, and others. The grasshoppers are so abundant as to be roasted for food; and locusts sometimes devastate the country. The honey bee is reared in mud hives; but wild honey is hardly to be identified. "Respecting pictorial effect, the scenery is suggestive and characteristic, rather than beautiful. That loveliness of nature which in other climes has excited terrestrial worship, and inspired the human mind with fanciful and fabulous notions, is hardly to be seen here. Some travellers, keeping perhaps a special standard of comparison in their thoughts, have been much disappointed. Allowance must be made for the monotony shed over even the boldest scenery by the glare of a midday sun in the East. The quality of this scenery can be estimated only in the mornings and

evenings, when the shadows are long, and the lights are effective from being limited. Some artistic authorities, too, have deemed the scenery to be lovely in itself, irrespective of its associations. Certainly, in or about this Central Ridge, our journey introduced us to at least six views which, besides all other considerations, are very fine pictorially. The hill-folk have few national traits, and but little of political life or tribal organization. But, under the local patriarch or Sheikh, they do, in their villages, have something like Self-Government. They are descendants of the Canaanites, Jebusites, and Amorites of the Bible, and cling to manners and customs that have prevailed amongst them from Biblical times. Though they were conquered by the Jews, they never yielded to Jewish, or to Greek or Roman influences either. Islam conquered their prejudices. They were converted by Arab soldiers some 1,200 years ago to Mahomedanism; and to that faith they still remain steadfastly attached, joining to its practice some of their old idolatrous rites and ceremonies-much, perhaps, as illiterate, low-caste Indian converts do now in India. The Central Ridge hillsmen display fanatacism occasionally; but, as a rule, are quiet, tolerant, and forbearing, and sedate, and reserved in demeanour. They told the Palestine exploration surveyors that there was no room in their hearts for mirth. They are dark complexioned, but not so dark as the Arabs; and they cultivate the soil, chiefly as peasant-proprietors, directly under the Turkish official who collects the land tax. They are called fellaheen, just as the peasantry of Egypt are; and they are a manly, patient race, much too good for Turkish rule. Through the stony hill-heritage of the sturdy tribe of Benjamin, we get to Bethel; and there Sir Richard decided to have his cook well mounted, his presence at the end of a weary march being indispensable to exhausted nature.

Josephus writes thus of Capernaum and the country round

about the Lake of Gennesareth :-

One may call this place the ambition of nature, where it forces those plants that are naturally enemies to one another, to agree together; it is a happy contention of the Seasons, as if every one of them laid claim to this country. . . . It supplies men with the principal fruits, with grapes and figs, continually during ten months of the year, and the rest of the fruits, as they become ripe together, through the whole year; for, besides the good temperature of the air, it is also watered from a most fertile fountain. The people of the country call it Capharnaum (Kefr-Nahum); some have thought it to be a vein of the Nile, because it produces the Corasin fish, as well as that lake which is near to Alexandria. The length of this country extends itself, along the bank of this lake, for thirty furlongs, and is in breadth twenty." (Whiston's translation.)

Alas! there is little left of all this excellence. Instead of it, desolation reigns supreme; but the luxuriance of the wild vegetation bears witness to the capacities of the soil that has been left untilled for centuries. Tristram, in his Bible

Places, describes it as "a wilderness carpeted with wild flowers." The village of Jel-Hum probably represents Capernaum, where was once an ancient tomb of Nahum, now lost. Other people hold that Khan Minich is the true site of the lost Capernaum The two places are less than three miles apart. At all events, Sir Richard concludes, one or other of the ruins must comprise the Synagogue in which Christ was present. The site still known to the natives as Karazah represents the Chorazin of Scripture.

Palestine Illustrated is a book that will, perhaps, be appreciated by some religious people, to whose theological opinions Sir Richard's are affiliated; but it is too languid for a robust

English public, and not likely to find favour with it.

Hindu Music, Part I; being an Exposition of the Theory and Fundamental Principles of Márga-desi Sanghita, or Harmonic Music of the Ancient Hindus. By Nunda Kumára Mukhopádhyáya. I. C. Bose & Co., Stanhope Press, Calcutta, 1888.

THIS is the first part of an Essay on the above interesting subject, in which the writer has treated of the genesis and antiquities of Hindu Márga-desí music. In the second part, which will follow, he promises to discuss the science and art of Indian music as it exists at the present day. As the subject has been treated at length in a recent number of this Review, we will here notice the pamphlet briefly, and propose to review the subject more fully when the whole essay is published.

Little is known, and much less is understood, of what is called Márga-desí or Harmonic Music, which was, no doubt, cultivated at one time in this country. According to the author, Márga literally means offspring of search, enquiry, investigation, &c. and Desí means local, indigenous, popular, &c., and the compound word signified the system of music, which was founded upon facts determined empirically and æsthetically, as well as upon those ascertained by scientific investigations. But beyond the etymology, we have very little useful or reliable information on the subject.

A history of the rise and development of Harmonic Music among the ancient Hindus, would be an exceedingly instructive book, specially to English and other foreign readers, among whom the subject is attracting much attention at this moment. Such a work can only be written by a Native, thoroughly at home in the science and art of European music. Unfortunately, music is one of the lost sciences of the Hindus. As far as we know, very few original Sanskrit works on music are extant, and

such as have lived down to our age are rare and fragmentary, Hence, a critical history of Hindu music seems to us to be a hopeless undertaking, and the attempt of the present writer, though commendable, falls very far short of the standard of such a work. In the first place, he had no access to the three recognised treatises on Hindu music, viz., Sangita-Ratnákara by Sáranga Deva, Sangita-darpana by Dámodara and Sangitadámodara by Subhankara. For this, we do not blame him, for he has, apparently, bestowed much thought and research upon the elucidation of the subject. But we do blame him for his unscientific spirit. In the absence of proof or historic evidence, a spirit of meekness and enquiry is most becoming in a writer. Our author seems above such a weakness. when his arguments are a tissue of unscientific assumptions, he makes no attempt to show that they are correct or even plausible. We confess that there may be some truth in his conclusions, and it is, on that very account, necessary that the data from which they are derived should be carefully examined. But, the perception of a remote analogy seems to fire his imagination, and he jumps at conclusions for which there is not the least ground in fact or reason.

The writer has drawn the materials for his history from the Universal Sanskrit Dictionary of Sir Maharaja Radhakant Deva, and from the musical compilation (Sangita-sara) of Sir Maharaja Joteendra Mohan Tagore and his accomplished brother. He has collected the scattered ancient aphorisms on the subject which disclose glimpses of musical culture among the Hindus at a remote period of their history. But along with what is most valuable as historic realities, the writer has strung together most curious scraps of information, bearing on such questions as whether the ancient Hindus possessed a knowledge of acoustics; whether they understood the wavetheory of sound; whether they knew the use of spring-keys in the construction of musical instruments; and such other abstruse questions. We admire the writer's ambition to rehabilitate a defunct science; but he must not run away with the notion in his head that his ipse dixit on any one point is either science or history. We will give an instance of the futility of such discussions. The writer maintains that the Hindus possessed a knowledge of the undulatory theory of sound, and that their notes and musical scales which have been fixed with scientific precision are an evidence of this knowledge. We quote from his argument on this point, as affording a sample of the matter and manner of the writer:

The word ákás'a is derived from the root kás' which means dipti or light; consequently it is evident that the phenomena of light could not be fully accounted for by the four Bhútas, viz. earth, water, air, and light, and,

therefore, another state of matter had been assumed to explain such phenomena. It appears from S'abda-Kalpa-Druma that the root Kas means 'sound', kás means unpleasant sound as in coughing, and kás means striking motion and gradually fading. All etymologists derive the word ákâs'a from the root 'kás,' but it is curious to observe that instead of the phenomenon of light, the phenomenon of 'Sabda' (sound) is attributed to it. The term ákús'a has become highly ambiguous, inasmuch as it is used to express vacuum, infinity, the atmospheric region, the firmament, the regions of cloud and light, the abodes of gods, etc. From the above, it is manifest that the modern Hindus have jumbled up together the phenomena of sound and light and the agencies thereto; but whatever might be the present idea of the phenomenon of light, and whatever might be the idea of the physical cause of sound, it is so far certain that such cause was by the ancient Hindus associated with the ideas of number, measure, individualization, conjunction, separation and sensation of sound. It would be absurd to connect these ideas (qualities?) with that of space, irrespective of some material body which is the external cause of sound, and such being the case, they refer to system of sound waves; and therefore the word A'kasa or more properly akasa or akasa (now lost to the modern Sanskrit language) must mean system of sound-waves; and the terms, number, etc., cannot but mean what English acousticians express by the terms number, amplitude, figure, composition, and analysis.

Now, we will try to show that the Indian Nyára Sástra which is a stiff and closely-reasoned science, does not favour the loose conclusion on which the writer lays so much stress. According to the Vaiseshika Sutra of Kanada which defines and explains its properties, ákása is the fifth elementary substance known to the ancient Indians. Its peculiar and distinguishing quality is sound, which is apprehended by the organ of hearing. Its existence as a distinct substance is deduced, not from distinct perception, but from inference. The qualities of earth, water, air, and light, which are the other four elements, are not apprehended by the hearing, but sound is; therefore, it is not a quality of those substances. Hence, a substratum, other than all these, is inferred; and that substratum is the ethereal element. As a substance, it has the qualities of number, dimension, individuality, conjunction, and disjunction. These qualities are again strictly defined, and their appositeness will become apparent when we recollect that the Nyáya theory of the senses and their operation is the converse of the old European theory of sensation. In that theory, the external objects were supposed to send refined copies of themselves to the mind, through the senses. According to Kanada, on the other hand, the mind is viewed as despatching a sense towards its object, in a material state resembling that of the object itself. Thus, luminous bodies are supposed as being discerned by means of a ray of light, which proceeds from the eye, and which constitutes the sense of sight. Similarly, external sound is represented as being perceived by means of the ether which resides within the cavity of the ear.